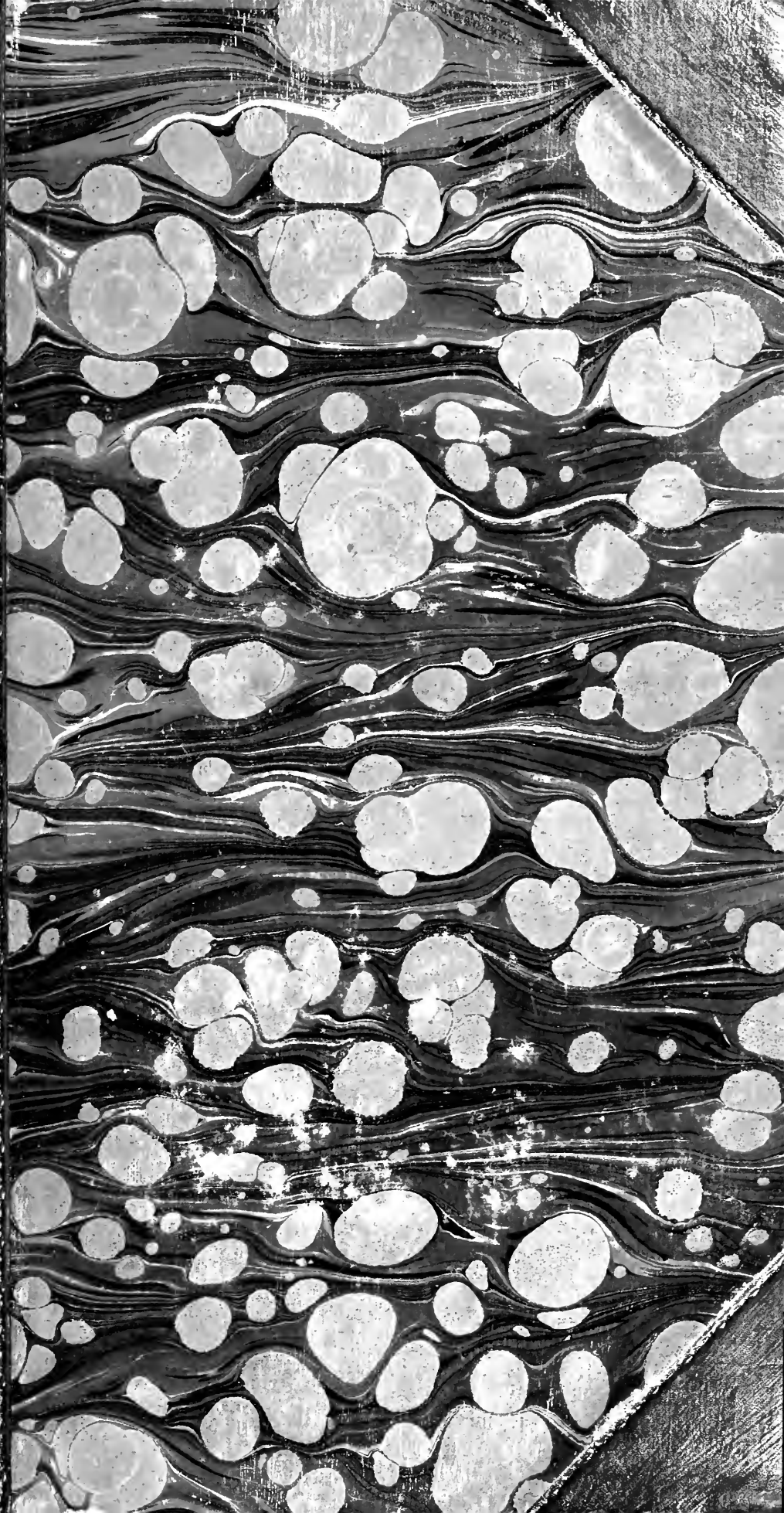


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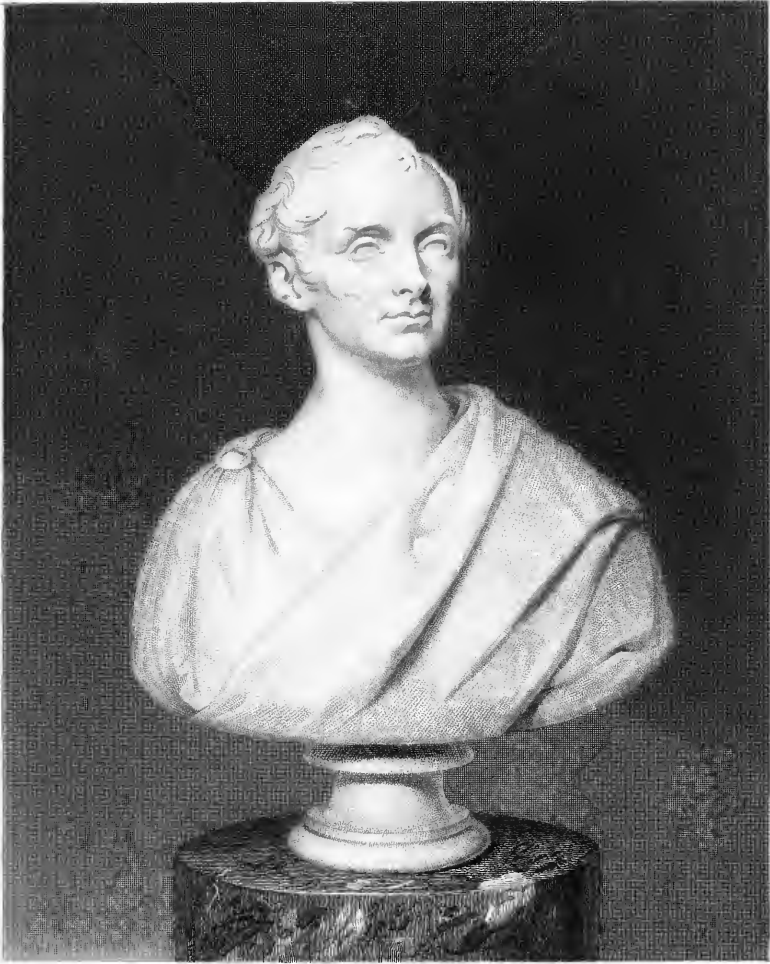






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J. M. B. Linnart
Russell

SAUNDERS'

PORTRAITS AND MEMOIRS

OF EMINENT

LIVING POLITICAL REFORMERS.

THE PORTRAITS

BY GEORGE HAYTER, ESQ. M.A.S.L. ETC.

(PAINTER OF PORTRAITS AND HISTORY TO HER MAJESTY;
AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS.

AND

THE MEMOIRS

BY A DISTINGUISHED LITERARY CHARACTER.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

A COPIOUS HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM,

FROM THE ATTEMPT TO REPEAL THE SEPTENNIAL ACT IN 1734,
TO THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832.

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED BY THE NEW PROPRIETOR.
J. DOWDING, BOOKSELLER, 82, NEWGATE-STREET.

1840.

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P R E F A C E.

It may be necessary to remark, in reference to the following pages, that caution has been used in abstaining, as far as it was possible, from all expression of opinion upon the various important political questions that are connected with the public career of the subjects of these biographies; the proper object of the writer being, rather to exhibit the opinions of others in their acts, than to obtrude his own, or to anticipate the reader's. It is, moreover, hoped that the fairness of spirit, which ought to be a distinguishing feature of such a design as this, has been shewn in the selection of the names that adorn the volume now presented. The list comprises men of all degrees of political opinion as Reformers; from those who, remembering that the last feather breaks the camel's back, are willing to throw off a feather or two, and then pause—to those who are for dashing the heavy, and almost crushing burden to the ground, heedless of the solemn duty of bearing it until it can be safely, because gradually, lightened. All who are here included, have taken their stand upon the right side of the line of policy laid down by Lord Melbourne's Administration; and to no one on the other side of that line, can be conceded the slightest pretension to the honours of a Reformer, or to the confidence of his countrymen.

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MEMOIRS.

RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P.,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

AMONG the titled few who have felt the insufficiency of the mere distinctions conferred by ancestry and rank—among the worthier spirits of old families, not necessarily illustrious because unquestionably ancient, who have been prompted by patriotism and an honourable love of fame, “to scorn delights and live laborious days,”—a foremost place must be accorded to the subject of this memoir.

Lord John Russell is the third son of the present Duke of Bedford, by his grace's first consort Georgiana Elizabeth, second daughter of George Viscount Torrington. Lord John was born August 18, 1792, in Hertford-street, May-fair. For the coarser collisions incident to parliamentary life, he may be said to have been prepared by being placed in a public school, first at Sunbury, and subsequently at Westminster. His education was completed at the University of Edinburgh.

According to the practice which prevails in families possessing electioneering influence, Lord John Russell was sent into parliament so early as July, 1813, as member for Tavistock, at a period when he wanted one month of having completed his twenty-first year. We will not here enter at length upon the question of the expediency of permitting young men at so “tender” an age to enter upon the arduous and complicated cares which devolve upon a conscientious member of the House of Commons. To us it appears, that, up to the age of at least twenty-five, such persons, whatever their genius or industry, would be far more beneficially employed, as

regards both themselves and the country, in solid reading; in extensive travel, particularly into all parts of the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and in otherwise accumulating that abundant stock of bodily strength, and various information, which is to be so freely drawn upon by the exigencies of their subsequent career. It is true that the names of Fox and Pitt may be quoted in contravention of these remarks; but we think it clear, that even these great men would have been still greater—more happy in themselves, and brighter ornaments to the senate—had they gone through the ordeal of time and training we have here ventured to indicate.

It is not to be denied, however, that some juvenile legislators have shown themselves able debaters; and among them a station at least respectable is strictly the due of Lord John Russell. From the outset of his parliamentary life, he attached himself to the progressive party—the only one that does not necessarily involve itself in endless absurdities and contradictions;—measures of liberal and humane tendency have generally found in him an able and strenuous advocate; and although, in his more influential days, he may have occasionally acted in a manner to command the applause of his and freedom's enemies, rather than that of their friends, yet, on a candid review of his whole career, we are willing to allow much for the difficulties of the positions in which he has been successively placed, and to ascribe his few apparent lapses to those “fears of the brave and follies of the wise,” which, as no human being has been entirely exempt from them, every human being ought to be anxious to extenuate, more particularly when speaking of a long period of time expended in a wide and varied field of action.

Before entering upon a detailed statement of Lord J. Russell's parliamentary career, it may be expedient to furnish a few data in relation to his personal history, both public and private.—He entered the House of Commons, as before stated, in July, 1813; in 1817, he retired on account of illness, but was again returned for Tavistock in 1818, to the Parliament which opened in January, 1819. He was elected for Huntingdonshire in 1820; Bandon-bridge, 1826; Tavistock, 1830; Devonshire, 1831, 1832, 1834; Stroud, 1835. To the electors of the last-named borough he has again offered himself, in reference to the ensuing election. Lord John Russell

accepted the office of Paymaster-general, November 22, 1830, which he resigned in November, 1834. The more important post of Secretary of State for the Home Department he obtained April 18, 1835, on the return of the Melbourne Ministry, and still retains it, with the honourable duties of ministerial leader in the House of Commons.

In the intervals of more pressing business, Lord John Russell has found leisure to make several creditable contributions to the national literature. His productions consist of—a Life of Lord William Russell, published (quarto and octavo editions), in 1815; a History of the British Constitution, which appeared in May, 1821; a tragedy, entitled *Don Carlos*, issued in the following year; and a quarto work on the Affairs of Europe since the Peace of Utrecht, his latest performance, published in 1824. These have become in succession especial objects of assault and ridicule in quarters where party criticism too frequently takes the place of truth; and Lord John may not inaptly apply to this class of his critics the scornful rebuke, which he puts into the mouth of one of his characters in *Don Carlos*, (the tragedy which is made a medium of so many farcical attacks upon the reputation of its author,) where a shaft is levelled at the calumniators who live but to decry and to defeat the efforts of men, anxious to add something to the store of good which the world contains, and to extend, in some degree, the list of honourable examples to mankind—

“ *While they who have done nothing, are held up
As capable of all things. Poor weak herd,
Heaven save me from the breath of your applause!*”

Lord John Russell remained unmarried until April 11, 1835, when he was united to Adelaide, widow of the late, and mother of the present, Lord Ribblesdale. By this lady he has issue, one daughter, Georgiana Adelaide, born February 6, 1836.

The large share of public attention, which political circumstances, and his own ability, have conspired to direct towards Lord John Russell, calls upon us to trace his parliamentary course with some minuteness; more especially, as we propose to diversify the dry enumeration of dates and occurrences with occasional extracts from his recorded speeches. These, if not instinct with the higher attributes of oratorical genius, will, we think, be found abundant in spirit, good sense, and good feeling.

His first recorded address to Parliament was made in May, 1814, on a subject well calculated to excite the ardour of a lover of freedom and national independence. In decided terms he condemned the treaty between Russia and Sweden, (Great Britain becoming a consenting party,) by which Norway was wrested from Denmark, and made over to Sweden, as the price of Bernadotte's accession to the league against Napoleon. His Lordship also spoke strongly in favour of a proposed address to the Prince Regent, requesting him to remove the blockade, by means of which the Liverpool administration endeavoured to starve the Norwegians into submission to the Swedish rule. On the same general ground also—respect for national independence in the choice of governors—Lord John opposed the war against Napoleon, in 1815.

On Lord Castlereagh's motion (February 26, 1817), for the first reading of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, Lord John made a long and able speech in condemnation of the proposed measure. An extract or two from his address will show, that even at this period, he was fully possessed with a feeling of the necessity for that parliamentary reform with which his name has since become so honourably identified, and fully prepared to defy the rant of "innovation," by which it was so long, so ignorantly, and so shamefully opposed.

A supporter of this measure says, "that reform wears a most dangerous aspect because it is moderate—because it proposes to go step by step. Let my honourable friend consider to what this argument leads: it leads to the rejection of every species of reform because it is innovation. In this point of view, there was danger in the proposition made last night to reduce two of the lords of the admiralty, and my right honourable friend who proposes to abolish the office of third secretary of state is a monster of terror and alarm. Another argument of my honourable friend was, that the danger must be great because the distress was great, and that the discontent was to be measured by the distress. And upon this sort of argument *à priori* does he propose to take away the liberties of the people of England. Without waiting to ask whether they have been loyal, whether they have been patient under suffering, and enduring in the depth of misery, he turns to them and says, 'Because you are starving, you shall be deprived of the protection of the law, your only remaining comfort.' Yet, upon such arguments as these, for he had little other, did my honourable friend rest his support of this bill. He told us he would not enter into the historical question, and that he knew not if the existing laws were sufficient to remedy the evil. On these two points, however, I think it necessary to dwell a short time before I give my vote.

"Upon looking back to history, the first precedent which strikes us, is the precedent of the enactment of this law [the Habeas Corpus Act]. The year before this law

passed a plot was discovered, which, though it has since been mentioned only as an instance of credulity, bore at the time a most alarming appearance. Not less than two hundred persons, many of them of the first rank, were accused of conspiring the death of the king. The heir presumptive of the throne was supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy, and foreign powers were ready with money and troops to assist in the subversion of our constitution in church and state. Yet at this time did the Lords and Commons present for the royal assent this very bill of Habeas Corpus, which for less dangers you are about to suspend. We talk much, I think a great deal too much, of the wisdom of our ancestors. I wish we would imitate the courage of our ancestors. They were not ready to lay their liberties at the foot of the Crown upon every vain or imaginary alarm."

"I will only say one word more as to the cry for reform, of which so much use has been made. I would make another use of this cry. The House must soon discuss the whole question. It is not difficult to foresee, that the majority will decide in favour of leaving the Constitution untouched. Anxious as I am for reform, I am still more anxious that the House should preserve the respect of the people. If they refuse all innovation upon ancient laws and institutions, it is not to be denied that they will stand upon strong ground. I beseech them, then, not to cut this ground from under their feet—not to let the reformers say, 'When we ask for redress, you refuse all innovation. When the Crown asks for protection, you sanction a new code; for us you are not willing to go an inch—for ministers you go a mile. When we ask for our rights, you will not touch the little finger of the Constitution; but when those in authority demand more power, you plunge your knife into its heart.'"

On this speech Sir F. Burdett passed a high compliment, which, however, subsequent events have rendered much less valuable. He said "it was peculiarly gratifying to hear the noble lord, with so much manliness and ability, supporting those rights in the defence of which his revered ancestor lost his life."

It would be impossible, within our prescribed limits, to state individually all the occasions on which Lord John Russell exerted himself in support of liberal measures and the amelioration of existing laws. He appears to have paid particular attention to every thing that regarded purity of election and the great general question of parliamentary reform. As yet, however, he was tameness itself compared with the Burdett of that day. On the 1st of July, 1819, Sir Francis moved "that early in the next session the House do take into its serious consideration the state of the representation." A short extract from Lord John's speech on this occasion will exhibit the parties in curious contrast, considering their present relative positions.

He "wished to state distinctly that he did not agree with those who opposed all

and every system of reform. He agreed in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as were notoriously corrupt, and would give his consent to any measure that would restrict the duration of parliament to three years. He could not, however, pledge himself to support a measure that went the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry was calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms. The honourable baronet had complained that the reformers were represented to be wild and visionary theorists, and had called upon the House to state where those wild and visionary reformers were to be found? If the honourable baronet did not know where to find them, he would refer him to those persons who had advised him during the last session to bring forward his celebrated motion for annual parliaments and universal suffrage."

In December of the same year (1819), Lord John Russell made his own first motion in favour of parliamentary reform. His speech on the occasion was universally allowed to be signalised by temperance and ability. He concluded with proposing four resolutions, to the effect—that boroughs proved to be generally corrupt should be disfranchised, such electors as had not been found guilty of bribery to be compensated by the right of voting for the county;—that the franchises should be transferred to great towns with a population of not less than 15,000 souls, and to some of the larger counties;—that further provision be made for preventing bribery in election;—and that Grampound, in which bribery had been proved to prevail, should cease to send members. These reasonable propositions were, however, withdrawn at the suggestion of Lord Castlereagh. In the course of his address, Lord John gave utterance to these enlightened observations :

“ The history of all free states, and particularly of that one on which Machiavel has thrown the light of his genius, demonstrates that they have a progress to perfection, and a progress to decay. In the former of these, we may observe, that the basis of the government is gradually more and more enlarged, and a larger portion of the people are admitted to a share of the power. In the latter the people, or some class of the people, make requests which are refused, and two parties are created; both are equally extravagant and equally incensed. In this state, when the party which supports the government loses all love and respect for liberty, and the party which espouses liberty loses all attachment and reverence for the government, the constitution is near its end.”

In 1820 and 1821, we find Lord John taking an active part on the popular side, in the case of Queen Caroline, in the settlement of the Civil List of George the Fourth, in support of Catholic Emancipation, and in various interesting questions which were agitated at that

stirring period. In 1821, he succeeded, after repeated efforts, in procuring the disfranchisement of the corrupt borough of Gram-pound, but the Lords, instead of transferring the franchise to Leeds, as he wished, gave two additional members to the county of York.

On the 9th of May of the same year he again mooted the general question of reform, and submitted to the House resolutions to the effect—

That grievous complaints were made in the kingdom of undue elections of members to serve in parliament, by gross bribery and corruption, contrary to the laws, and in violation of the freedom due to the election of representatives; that in order to strengthen the necessary connexion between the Commons of this kingdom and their representatives, it was expedient to give to such places as were greatly increased in wealth and population, but not at present adequately represented, the right of returning members; that a select committee be appointed to consider to what places it might be advisable to extend the right of returning members without an inconvenient addition to the number of representatives; and that it be referred to the same committee, to consider further of a mode of proceeding with respect to any boroughs charged with notorious bribery and corruption, in order that such charges might be inquired into, and, if proved, such boroughs disabled from sending burgesses to serve in parliament.

The motion was lost by a majority of 31. Noes, 155; Ayes, 124.

In April, 1822, he again brought forward the subject of parliamentary reform, in a speech replete with information and sound philosophy. In the course of it, he thus pithily replies to those alarmists who live in real or pretended dread of the seditious spirit of the people.

“It is of the nature of the people to push obedience almost to a fault. Nothing can be more false than the opinions of those who maintain, that agitators can easily, and without cause, excite the people to tumultuous and seditious practices. So far is this from being the case, that the disposition of every people is naturally hostile to agitators; indeed, it is so strongly in favour of government, that the general mass of a country never can be induced to see abuse until it becomes intolerable, or be persuaded to take measures of precaution against a contingent loss of property and liberty; nay more, they will frequently even submit to the greatest evils of misgovernment, before they venture to utter one word in their own behalf.”

So true is this, we may almost lay it down as a rule, that where a complaint is raised, a real evil is sure to exist.

The orator then proceeds to argue the question on constitutional grounds—

“The natural balance of the constitution is this—that the crown should appoint its ministers, that those ministers should have the confidence of the House of Commons, and that the House of Commons should represent the sense and wishes of the people. Such was the machinery of our government; and if any wheel of it went wrong, it deranged the whole system. Thus, when the Stuarts were on the throne, and their ministers did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, the consequence was tumult, insurrection, and civil war throughout the country. At the present period, the ministers of the crown possess the confidence of the House of Commons; but the House of Commons does not possess the esteem and reverence of the people. The consequences to the country are equally fatal. We have seen discontent breaking into outrage in various quarters—we have seen every excess of popular phrenzy committed and defended—we have seen alarm universally prevailing among the upper classes, and disaffection among the lower—we have seen the ministers of the crown seek a remedy for these evils in a system of severe coercion—in restrictive laws—in large standing armies—in enormous barracks, and in every other resource that belongs to a government which is not founded in the hearts of its subjects.”

“It is my persuasion, that the liberties of Englishmen, being founded upon the general consent of all, must remain upon that basis, or must altogether cease to have any existence. We cannot confine liberty in this country to one class of men: we cannot erect here a senate of Venice, by which a small part of the community is enabled to lord it over the majority: we cannot in this land, and at this time, make liberty the inheritance of a *caste*. It is the nature of English liberty, that her nightingale notes should never be heard from within the bars and gratings of a cage; to preserve anything of the grace and the sweetness, they must have something of the wildness of freedom. I speak according to the spirit of our constitution when I say, that the liberty of England abhors the unnatural protection of a standing army: she abjures the countenance of fortresses and barracks; nor can those institutions ever be maintained by force and terror, that were founded upon mildness and affection.”

* * * * *

“The next objection to which I shall advert, is founded on that inveterate adherence to ancient forms however unsuitable, to old practices however abusive, which influences so greatly the decisions of the English parliament. As this objection has its strength more in the feelings and affections, than in any logical argument upon which it is grounded; as it rests on superstition rather than on reason, I know not how to meet it better than by referring to an example in ancient story. The instance I allude to occurs in the history of Rome; and here I must entreat the attention of the honourable member for Corfe Castle, who may be styled the tory commentator, as Machiavel may be styled the whig commentator on Roman history. About 370 years after the foundation of Rome, there arose a contest, not very unlike the question which we are now debating, whether the two consuls should continue to be chosen from the patricians, or whether one should be chosen invariably from the plebeians. Appian Claudius (who was the prime advocate of aristocracy and existing institutions in that day) argued that the greatest evils would follow if any change was

made in the ancient forms. He contended, particularly, that none but a patrician could take the auguries—that if any alteration were made the chickens would not eat—that in vain they would be required to leave their coops. The language given to him by Livy is, “*Quid enim est, si pulli non pascentur? Si ex cavé turdus exierint? Si occinuerit avis? Parva sunt hæc: sed parva ista non contemnendo majores nostri maximam hanc rem fecerunt.*” Such was the reasoning of the Roman senator: reasoning, be it observed, not very different from that which is used to show that our constitution will be subverted, if any invasion be made upon the privileges of Old Sarum. But what was the result? After a successful war against a foreign enemy, Camillus, the dictator, had to encounter the most dangerous seditions at Rome, raised on this subject of the consulship. What did he and the senate do? It will be imagined that they passed restrictive laws; that they prohibited public meetings of more than fifty persons in the open air; that they punished the seditious orators, and restrained the liberty of speech for the future. No such thing. They assented to the petitions of the people. “*Vix dum perfunctum cum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit: et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribunicie acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul factus.*” And what was the consequence, discord and calamity? Quite the reverse. After some further contest, the whole dispute terminated in favour of the people; and the senate, to celebrate the return of concord between the two parties, commanded that the great games, the *ludi maximi*, should be solemnised, that an additional holiday should be observed. Rome increased in power and glory; she defeated the Samnites; she resisted Pyrrhus: she conquered Carthage; nor in the whole of her famous history is any complaint to be found on record, that the chickens declined to eat, or that they refused to leave their coops on account of the plebeian consul.”

In spite, however, of reason and decency, the majority against the motion on this occasion was greater than on the preceding. In a House composed of 433 members, the numbers were 269; ayes 164; majority 105.

On the 20th of February, 1823, Lord John moved, “that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into, and report to the House, the right of voting at present exercised, and the number of persons entitled to vote in every city and borough of England and Wales sending members to Parliament.” Ayes, 90; noes, 128. The principal opponent of this motion was the only “grace and ornament” of anti-reform, Mr. Canning.

In April of the same year Lord John again introduced what may be termed his annual motion in favour of reform. It was substantially the same as that of the preceding year; but he included a consideration which he had previously omitted to state—and this related to

the policy or justice of awarding "compensation" to the boroughs, which he proposed to disfranchise. His Lordship "thought it would be a wise economy to expend even a million of money in the purchase of boroughs to procure an honest representation of the people." This over-caution and anxiety to "conciliate those who were not to be conciliated," did not of course prove successful; the corrupt House refused the proffered purification, though coupled with compensation to Old Sarum.

Throughout 1823, 1824, and 1825, numerous votes of Lord John Russell are recorded in favour of motions made by Mr. Hume, Lord Althorp, and others, for the prevention of extravagance in the national expenditure, inquiries into the state of Ireland, and other measures tending to the promotion of just and liberal government.

In 1826, Lord John Russell's persevering efforts to procure parliamentary reform were encouraged by a vision of that success which at no distant period amply rewarded them. On the 1st of March in that year, a bill brought in by him, "for the better discovery and suppression of bribery and corrupt practices in the election of members to serve in Parliament," (in which he proposed to follow his former plan of disfranchising corrupt boroughs, and transferring the privilege to others more populous and wealthy,) was read a second time on the 14th of March, and subsequently committed, but finally postponed to the next session. His annual motion on the general subject of reform was, however, again defeated this year by a majority of 124; 247 to 123.

In 1827, the spirit of Russell quailed, on the subject of reform, before the ascendant genius of Canning. In May of that year (the semi-liberal ministry of Canning being then in power), Lord John stated that he had for the present abandoned the question of parliamentary reform; attributing his dereliction, whether truly or not, to the lukewarm feeling of the public mind in reference to the subject; an apathy which he supposed to arise from the great and increasing prosperity of the nation.

In June of 1827, Lord John brought forward another subject with which his name is honourably connected—the repeal of the Test Acts. On this occasion he thus broadly stated his opinions in reference to the exclusion of citizens from civil rights on the ground of

their religious belief:—"Ever since I have been a member of this House, my votes have been guided by the principle, that the subjects of these kingdoms ought not to suffer any civil hardship, any civil penalty, any civil inconvenience on account of their religious belief."

As in the case of reform, however, Lord John declined for the present any decided movement for the relief of the aggrieved parties, stating that, "many of the Dissenters, feeling as it were by instinct, that a ministry was formed more favourable to religious liberty than any that had existed during the thirty-seven years in which their question had slept, doubted whether it were fair or politic to force such a ministry to an immediate expression of opinion on this important subject." He therefore postponed till next session his motion for the repeal of the obnoxious Acts. A bill for their abolition passed in the following session, but was much disfigured by the illiberal alterations made in the House of Lords.

In February, 1830, Lord John's motion for leave to bring in a bill "to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to return representatives to serve in parliament," was negatived by a majority of 48; ayes, 140; noes, 188. Had the anti-liberals been wise (not to say honest) enough to give way on this and similar occasions, the catastrophe which finally befel them might have been prevented, or at least put off to an indefinite period. Fortunately, however, they were unwise. They persevered to their own loss, and the nation's gain. The besotted obstructives chose rather to outrage the common sense of the country, till the great mass rose against them as one man, to put down what they felt to be an unbearable insult, no less than a grievous injury.

In May of this year (1830), Lord John Russell again displayed his liberal feelings, by speaking and voting in favour of the removal of the Jewish disabilities. In the same month, we also find him voting in favour of the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Labouchere, in relation to Canada. It stands in striking and melancholy contrast to the resolutions, which, as a minister, Lord John has recently "thought it his duty" (to use the phrase that expresses the established official excuse) to propose, with reference to the same important colony :-

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that a majority of the members of the Legislative Councils of Upper and Lower Canada ought not to consist of persons holding offices at the pleasure of the crown ; and, that any measures that may tend to connect more intimately this branch of the constitution with the interest of these colonies, would be attended with the greatest advantage.

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that it is not expedient that the judges should hold seats in the executive councils of Upper and Lower Canada, and that (with the exception of the Chief Justice), they ought not to be involved in the political business of the legislative councils.

“ That it is the opinion of this House, that it is indispensable to the good government and contentment of his Majesty’s Canadian subjects, that these measures should be carried into effect with the least possible convenient delay.”

On the 28th of the same month (May, 1830), Lord John Russell decidedly opposed Mr. O’Connell’s plan of parliamentary reform, (which included triennial parliaments, vote by ballot, and universal suffrage), and produced a modified one of his own ; this, however, was also rejected by a majority of 96 ;—117 to 213.

On the 1st of March, 1831, Lord John Russell, as the organ of the Grey administration, had the great and merited honour of introducing to the House of Commons the first grand outline of the proposed plan for parliamentary reform. The following passage in his address, in reply to one of the objections against the bill, strikes us to be well conceived, and happily expressed :—

“ It may be said, that one great and injurious effect of the measure I propose, will be, to destroy the power and privileges of the aristocracy. This I deny. I utterly deny that this plan can have any such effect. Wherever the aristocracy reside, receiving large incomes, performing important duties, relieving the poor by charity, and evincing private worth and public virtue, it is not in human nature that they should not possess a great influence upon public opinion, and have an equal weight in electing persons to serve their country in parliament. Though such persons may not have the direct nomination of members under this bill, I contend that they will have as much influence as they ought to have. But if by aristocracy those persons are meant who do not live among the people, who know nothing of the people, and who care nothing for them— who seek honours without merit, places without duty, and pensions without service,— for such an aristocracy I have no sympathy ; and, I think, the sooner its influence is carried away with the corruption on which it has thriven, the better for the country, in which it has repressed so long every wholesome and invigorating influence.”

The second reading of the bill was carried, March 22, by a majority of *one* only : ayes, 302 ; noes, 301. In the committee, April 19, an amendment, proposed by General Gascoyne, “ that the

total number of members be not increased," was carried by a majority of eight. This result led to the dissolution of the House of Commons, on the 22nd of the same month.

On the assembling of the new parliament, Lord John Russell again (June 24, 1831) brought forward the all-important question of reform, to which the national mind was now thoroughly awakened. In the course of his speech, he gave an excellent sketch of English parliamentary history.

On this occasion, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 136 : 367 to 231. On the 12th of July, Lord John moved that the house should go into committee on the subject. In the course of the struggle on this question, the tories divided the house no less than seven times, and thus delayed the dreaded procedure till the following day. The bill, after undergoing many alterations, was passed in the Commons, on the 21st of September, by a majority of 109, but was lost in the Lords in the course of the following month.

During the recess, ministers laboured incessantly to improve the details of the bill. It was again brought forward on the 12th of December the same year (1831), and passed the House of Commons, without a division, on the 23rd of March, 1832. On the 7th of May, it was once more defeated in the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst, that the first (the disfranchising) clause be postponed. Two days subsequently the ministers resigned ; but so great and general was the feeling in their favour, that the king was compelled to recall them; the Duke of Wellington confessing that he was unable to form an administration that should possess the confidence of the country. The Lords, therefore, reluctantly gave way, and passed the bill without material alterations. In the course of a discussion on the measure, on the 14th of May, Lord John Russell thus explained and justified his present and former opinions on the subject of reform :—

“ It had been said, that he had changed his opinions on the subject of reform. His opinions had, at all times, been expressed just as he entertained them at the time ; and yet, all that could be brought home to him on the subject of change of opinion was, that, from having been a reformer twelve years ago, and that not of the most moderate class of reformers—from being a reformer who proposed to take 100 members from places now

represented in that house, and to give them to the counties and great towns—from being such a reformer, he had come to be the advocate of that reform, which for a long time he had endeavoured to render unnecessary; namely, the total disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs. But that change in his conduct had been brought about; first, by the obstinate resistance which had been made by the government now coming into office, to the most moderate reform; secondly, by the altered condition of the country; and thirdly, by the opinions of many persons of the highest authority, differing from each other on the question of reform. He would mention two of those persons, by whose opinion he had been influenced, and it would be admitted that they had few opinions in common upon the general question of reform—Lord Grey and the late Mr. Canning. It was the opinion of both those statesmen, that, if any measure of reform was to be carried, it ought to be on such principles as would render it *final*, so far as it was possible for the legislature to make it so.”

Lord John does not pretend to say how far this is possible. The doctrine of final reform was a fit expedient for a politician like Mr. Canning to descant upon; but it is unworthy of any reformer who would be thought enlightened as well as sincere.

Lord John Russell, being now installed as an influential minister of the crown, partook fully in the fluctuating policy of the Grey ministry. In February, 1833, he had to defend the harsh tone of the king's speech, with reference to Ireland, against the fierce assaults of Mr. O'Connell, who had designated it as “bloody and brutal.” In the same month, he voted against Mr. Hume's motion for the abolition of naval and military sinecures, and also defended the coercive measures preparing for Ireland. On the 23rd of July, he expressed himself, with some ingenuity, but with little reason, in opposition to Mr. Tennyson's motion for shortening the duration of parliaments. In February of the following year, he again evinced the anti-reform spirit by voting in favour of Lord Althorp's amendment, on Mr. Harvey's motion for an inquiry into the Pension List; and in the following month, against Mr. Buckingham's motion for a committee to devise some plan for the Abolition of Impressment. For these, however, and other unpopular votes, he made some amends, by introducing a measure for the relief of Dissenters, in reference to the marriage ceremony. He also voted in favour of the admission of Dissenters to the universities. On this occasion, he pithily observed, “It had been said, that no necessity had been made out for such a measure as that now proposed. His answer was, that the necessity for continuing the existing restric-

tions, ought to be shown by those who were the advocates of them."

The attention of parliament during this session (1834) was much engaged on the subject of the Irish Tithe Bill. In relation to it, Lord John Russell gave utterance to sentiments which do honour to his theoretic liberality, but have a strong tendency to condemn the arbitrary and coercive measures he had lately advocated, as applicable to Ireland.

The Peel parliament assembled in February, 1834, and on the 30th of March, Lord John Russell moved, "That the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the Temporalities of the Church of Ireland." The debate continued during four nights, principally on the question of appropriating the surplus revenues of that establishment to purposes of general education. The resolution was finally carried by a majority of 33;—322 to 289. A tribute paid by the orator on this occasion to the character of the Irish people, was conceived in a just and frank spirit, and seemed to spring from the heart. It is a pity that, in the acts of Lord John and of his colleagues, such sentiments were not always traceable.

On the 3rd and 7th of April, further animated debates took place on the same subject. At the close of the last, on a division, Sir Robert Peel found himself in a minority of twenty-seven. On the following day, he and the Duke of Wellington intimated in their respective Houses that they had resigned. By the 12th of May, the new ministry was completed, under Lord Melbourne, when Lord John Russell became Home Secretary, and of course vacated his seat in parliament. He was defeated in his efforts to be re-elected for Devonshire, by means which evidently caused him to cast some "longing, lingering" looks towards the ballot; he was, however, returned for Stroud a few days subsequently.

Mr. Grote's motion in favour of the Ballot was discussed on the 2d of June, when Lord John delivered himself in a very plaintive, and as far as the House was concerned, in a very persuasive strain.

The important measure of Corporation Reform was brought forward by Lord John Russell, on the 5th of the same month (June, 1835). This was another act of liberal legislation, on a large scale, which will preserve with honour the names of Russell and his col-

leagues, in spite of the various acts of weakness and vacillation that have so frequently disfigured their general policy.

In August of this year, he made a spirited avowal of faith in the patriotic conduct of his radical supporters.—It had been nobly merited.

Lord John Russell's position as ministerial leader of the House of Commons, has brought him so incessantly and conspicuously under public notice, that a distinct enumeration of his more recent motions and proceedings would be equally tedious and unnecessary. His history would be, in fact, that of the ministry with which he is so intimately connected. There cannot be a doubt, that as an independent member, he would have condemned some propositions, which, as a minister, he has supported; but it is equally true that, in an isolated position, he would have lacked power to carry the beneficial measures which have signalised his official career.

With a few general remarks, therefore, on his personal and political character, we terminate the present sketch of an active and well-spent life. Upon a recent occasion, when referring to Sir Francis Burdett's contemptuous allusion to the "cant of patriotism," Lord John very happily remarked, that, "though the cant of patriotism might be disgusting, the recant of it was infinitely more so." Of his Lordship it may with truth be said, that he is as little liable as any man of his party to be charged with either. He is neither mean enough to cant, nor base enough to recant. He is not for an extreme of any sort; his natural character and his acquired tastes unfit him for a bold flight, either for good or evil. "He creeps not, neither does he soar." He is not destitute of moral courage, but it lacks a monitor now and then; he is not without statesman-like qualities, but they want the inspiring touch of genius. The honours he has won, whether voted by a corporation, or conveyed by a subscription for a reform tribute, he wears modestly; and in private life, is wholly devoid of arrogance and assumption.



ENGRAVED BY E. C. IVY

Chas Buller jr

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CHARLES BULLER, ESQ., M.P.

It is not for us even to hint that the artist has rendered any thing short of justice to the honest and good-humoured face of Mr. Charles Buller, in the portrait upon the opposite page. But we are bound to assert that Mr. Buller is seldom characterised by any sternness of look. People, however, will look grave when sitting for their pictures. His face is like his speaking in Parliament; almost too lively and gay to correspond with our general notions as to the proper degree of dulness which ought to belong to a modern member of the Commons. It was a long time before his brother lawgivers could appreciate his wit; and the country (which looks for very different qualities in its great men) has not yet accustomed itself to his simplicity. If he would be a little more pompous, like Sir Robert Peel for instance, or a little more violent, like—here we mention no names, a crowd of his own and the opposite party will answer to the simile—if he would throw into his demeanour the smallest degree more gravity and ostentation, he might attain a most unreasonable reputation and popularity.

But he has attained a dangerous character for wit in the House of Commons; which, in this grave and matter-of-fact country, depresses his reputation with the House and the people too. As soon as he rises, the Speaker prepares instantly to be facetious. Mr. Buller says, “Sir, I rise (hear! hear!) to present a petition from a Baptist congregation in the town of —— (cheers and laughter), praying that the existing disabilities under which the Dissenters labour (cries of bravo, and laughter from Lord Leveson), may be removed.” Mr. Buller then makes a quiet and argumentative, sometimes an eloquent speech, upon the question before the House, and the House laughs all the way through: for Mr. Buller has the character for wit, and he would be dull who listened to him gravely. His speech upon the Ballot in 1835; his speech on the Irish Municipal Bill in February of this year; and his admirable speech on Church Rates last May (the best speech of the night, perhaps of the session), have hardly

convinced the House, that he is fit for more than to cut jokes, or tickle legislators with points of wit.

We must own, however, that the disadvantage, if any accrue to his character, from the reputation which he enjoys, is much of his own seeking and fault. He has looked too lightly and laughingly upon many subjects, which he might have pursued with better and stronger reason. Jokes, perhaps, flow more readily to his lips than arguments, and he has indulged in this indolent and facetious vein perhaps too liberally. His speech on the Record Commission, for instance, in which his case against the Commissioners was admirably put, we read over the other day, almost with pain, it is so disfigured by jokes of this description. If Mr. Buller were to look at that speech now, he would mourn over the dead and flat facetiousness about “rats,” and “cats,” and “stalactites,”* which deform it. It is true that there was an object in this ridicule, that the commission and the members of it, Don Roberto Inglis, and “*el multo noble*” Watkin William Wynne, were received throughout the country with a universal hoot of laughter and contempt. It is true that Mr. Buller upon this motion, got a Select Committee, of which he was chairman, and which in the course of a long and most laborious investigation proved that the industry and the objects of the Committee were far more serious than the speech of its founder—but Mr. Buller had better have never made the speech for all that. “Don’t you keep people to do this for you?” said the grave old Turk to the English Captain who was dancing. In the same manner in England, regarding jokes—people admire them, but they do not admire jokers. All Mr. Buller’s efforts in the House have been injured by this unlucky reputation.

His excellent speech upon the Church Rate Bill, which we have mentioned, and that on the Irish Municipal Bill, have shown the House, however, how much higher is the ground he can take, and of what much nobler materials he is made. They are admirable in reason and style, clear, sarcastic, argumentative, and eloquent sometimes: and there is this great praise due to Mr. Buller, that he never contents himself with merely combating an abuse,—he proposes a remedy. In this respect, he is particularly distinguished from the

* Speech on Record Commission, Feb. 1836.

herd of "legislators," and even marked out for distinction above some of the rarer spirits. How many can pull down who cannot build up! How many can prove that one path is wrong, who cannot point out to us the right one! We could number up a half-dozen of "first-rate minds," according to common repute, which have, indeed, the faculty of tearing an opposing argument to tatters, but which are totally incapable of laying down the basis of the true one. Such persons can extinguish the light which the enemy holds to us, but have no lamp of their own by which to guide us through the dark. There are few men of Mr. Buller's party who have his perfect and unaffected good judgment, (none except Mr. Grote,) who have the constructive and statesman-like qualities of the member for Liskeard.

Mr. Buller is rather of the Gironde than of the Mountain; his habits and taste (perhaps his health, also, which is delicate,) keep him aloof from the public display and the "agitation" of other reformers. Thus, in the radical meetings and the conclaves of patriots, who are more noisy though not more sincere, his voice is seldom heard, and his name not often mentioned. But though he has not any of the turbulent claims to popularity which belong to some other men of his party, though he is not very powerful out of the House, none are more attentive in it, more eagerly listened to, more sedulous in the discharge of public business when public interest demands their attendance.

Mr. Buller has not learned his liberalism in a family school. Some gentlemen of his name advocate opposite principles in the House; as did, for a long time, his own immediate family and connexions. In the good old times the Bullers possessed a great portion of the patronage and power which belonged to the county of Cornwall. His grandfather, we believe, nominated no less than six members to parliament for various boroughs in that county.

His father, Mr. Charles Buller, was a younger son of Mr. Buller of Morval, and was for a long time in India, in the civil service of the East India Company. He was for several years member for West Looe, one of the boroughs in the nomination of his family; which place the member for Liskeard also represented in the outset of his parliamentary career. Mr. Charles Buller, junior, lost his seat for that borough because he voted for the Reform Bill; and the consequence was, that, when West Looe was placed in Schedule A.,

Mr. Buller, on the popular interest, was returned for Liskeard, with as much unanimity as if he had had all the family influence to back him.

His conduct and opinions in parliament are best exemplified by his votes. He voted against the Corn Laws; against flogging in the army; for triennial parliaments; for the removal of Bishops from the House of Lords; against the property qualification for members; for the Poor Law Amendment; against the repeal of the Malt Tax; against the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill; for the system of National Education; and the repeal of the Stamp Duty on Newspapers.

Mr. Buller is not quite thirty-one years of age: he was born at Calcutta in August, 1806. He was educated at Harrow; afterwards at the university of Edinburgh; and then at Trinity College, Cambridge. Even there he was famous for his liberalism, and for the wit against which we have been crying out; and a noted orator at the Union, in the best days of that famous debating society. We do not believe that he took any great share in university struggles or honours. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1828.

He is a Barrister of Lincoln's Inn; called in 1831; and made his first speech in parliament in 1830, upon Mr. Davenport's motion for Inquiring into the State of the Country. The principal motions which he has brought forward, are, an Amendment on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill, in 1833; an Inquiry into the State of Public Records, in February, 1836; an Inquiry into the Law of Controverted Elections, at the same period; and an Amendment on the Established Church Bill, in July, 1836. On the motions relative to Public Records and Elections, select committees were appointed, of which he acted as chairman. These committees made reports (the first, after a most laborious inquiry); in consequence of which Mr. Buller introduced two Bills on those two subjects, both of which are now pending in parliament.

Mr. Buller writes with elegance and force: this opinion is founded, however, upon an acquaintance with only one or two specimens of his literary composition. He has contributed articles to the *Foreign Quarterly*, to the *British and Foreign*, and the *London and Westminster Reviews*.



J. H. Roebuck

JOHN ARTHUR ROEBUCK, ESQ., M. P.

WHEN the subject of this memoir presented himself, about five years ago, as a candidate for the suffrages of the electors of the city of Bath, a demand was “thundered out”—we need not particularise the quarter—of “Who *is* Mr. Roebuck?” If a quaint form of expression might be allowed, we should say that he has converted that note of interrogation into a note of admiration. He has deprived alike the advocates of small reform, and the enemies of all reform, of any pleasure that might accrue from a contemptuous repetition of the question—“Who *is* Mr. Roebuck?” Neither the prevarication of the one, nor the effrontery of the other, will now dare to impeach the justice of the claim to reputation which Mr. Roebuck has, with striking rapidity, established and secured.

Nor was his name, at that time, either wholly obscure in a literary sense, or devoid of that interest which attaches to a descent from a public benefactor. The grandfather of this expounder of Radical philosophy was Dr. John Roebuck, whom we find mentioned in Chalmers’ Biographical Dictionary with high honour, as “an eminent physician and great benefactor to Scotland.” We cannot better introduce our sketch of Mr. Roebuck’s career, than by offering a brief account of the character and pursuits of such a man.

Dr. Roebuck acquired the foundation of that classical taste and knowledge, for which he was afterwards distinguished, at an academy kept by Dr. Doddridge. At the University of Edinburgh, and next at Leyden (then the first medical school in Europe), he pursued an arduous course of study, took his doctor’s degree, and settled at Birmingham. Here new studies and new objects, extending greatly beyond those of his profession, became opened to his mind. He conceived high views of extending the usefulness of chemistry, and rendering it subservient to the improvement of arts and manufactures. Having fitted up a small laboratory, the first efforts of his genius and industry led him to the discovery of certain improved methods of

refining gold and silver, and particularly of an ingenious method of collecting the smaller particles of the precious metals which had formerly been lost in practical operations. Improvements in reference to the production of sublimate, hartshorn, and other articles of importance, and successful experiments in preparing, by a cheaper and easier process, that essential to the ends of chemistry, sulphuric acid—were among the early rewards of his enthusiasm. These successes led him to associate with a gentleman of enterprising spirit, in the establishment of various works favourable to the manufacturing operations of the time. Among these was an extensive iron manufactory on the banks of the river Carron, with the view of following out some discoveries which he had made, in studying the processes of smelting iron-stone, by which that operation might be greatly facilitated. The zeal and ability with which this object was pursued, were best manifested in the successful results; the advantages which Scotland has derived from that (then) grand and difficult undertaking are undeniable. Dr. Roebuck greatly promoted the ends of science, and forwarded also the interests of more than one illustrious agent in scientific discovery. We need only mention the name of Watt, which Dr. Roebuck is represented to have had the honour of rendering better known both in Scotland and England.

His active genius, however, did not rest here; but, unhappily for his own fortunes, found a wide field of speculation in the extensive coal and salt works of the Duke of Hamilton, of which he became lessee. We quote his biographer for the result, which was, that “after many years of labour and industry, there were sunk in this project not only his own and the considerable fortune brought him by his wife, but the regular profits of his more successful works: and along with these, what distressed him above every thing, great sums of money borrowed from his relations and friends; not to mention that from the same cause, he was, during the last twenty years of his life, subject to a constant succession of hopes and disappointments—to a course of labour and drudgery ill suited to his taste and turn of mind—to the irksome and teasing business of managing and studying the humours of working colliers. But all these disappointments his persevering spirit would have overcome, if the never-ceasing demand of his coal works, after having exhausted the profits,

had not also compelled him to withdraw his capital from all his different works in succession: from the refining work at Birmingham, the vitriol work at Preston Pans, the iron works at Carron, as well as to part with his interest in the project of improving the steam-engine, in which he had become a partner with Mr. Watt, the original inventor, and from which he had reason to hope for future emolument."

His fortune, it may be supposed, never recovered the effect of these losses. It is painful to contemplate the disappointment of a mind equally fitted to enjoy the "high attainments of science and the elegant amusements of taste," his family suffering by the ruinous adventure—an honourable character and a sense of meritorious exertion alone surviving to console them. For literary occupation his practical life afforded little leisure; yet he has left some essays, read in the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, which sufficiently testify to his talents, knowledge, and boldness of design. Preserving his spirit and good-humour to the last he died at the age of seventy-six, on the 17th of July, 1794.

If this zealous labourer in the vineyard of usefulness, whose claim to respect rests upon his practical pursuit of good, sought through a long life to promote arts and manufactures rather than to "establish theories and hypotheses," it must be acknowledged that his grandson's aims have still higher objects—his endeavours a still wider scope. He has devoted himself early in life to the working out of "theories and hypotheses," which, whatever the practical operation of them may permanently be, are undoubtedly based upon principles less questionable even than those upon which great manufacturing experiments are made, and great workshops multiplied—upon principles "deep almost as life," identified with the moral improvement and the political existence of a people; and indestructible so long as mind reigns over matter, and the course of human advancement flows on certain and unswerving as the tides.

John Arthur Roebuck, whose father was the third son of the doctor, and who, on the maternal side, is, we believe, descended from the poet Tickell, the friend of Addison, and his under secretary of state, was born on the 28th of December, 1802. His present political sympathies with the condition of the dependencies of Great Britain, may have had an origin in early associations, for his birth-

place was Madras (Calcutta, as we have seen, having given birth to his political compatriot, Mr. Charles Buller). Perhaps Mr. Roebuck would at once terminate any curious speculation of the reader's as to the scene of his education or the classical dignity of his teachers, by candidly, and perhaps proudly, claiming the merit of "having educated himself." However this may be, he is understood to be in no important respect deficient in elegant and scholar-like acquirements. That these have given point and finish to the speculations of a naturally inquiring and penetrative mind, has been apparent perhaps in some of his political addresses and orations, but still more in his miscellaneous writings of a critical and philosophical character. Some of the earliest of these worth specifying are the contributions to the *Westminster Review*; to which, if we remember, as well as to those which have appeared in the *London and Westminster*, the initials of the writer are affixed. It was by his periodical contributions to literature that he first became known; and next as the author of a *Life of Mahomet*, written for the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*.

In the meantime, he had been pursuing a course of legal studies with earnestness and success—studies in which the natural conformation of his mind, more perhaps than his physical temperament, qualified him to succeed. The result and reward of his labours was, his admission as a barrister of the Inner Temple, in the year 1832; the same year in which the promise he had given as an expositor of radical truths, and the confidence he had excited in the minds of several leading members of the liberal party, were signally marked by a formal recommendation of him, on the part of Mr. Hume, to the electors of Bath, then eager to enrol themselves among the radical constituencies of the kingdom. His addresses to the electors did not disappoint expectation, and he was chosen member for that city at the first election under the reform bill. His first speech in parliament was delivered on the motion for the address: it was like many of his subsequent efforts, spirited, but not brilliant; indicative of talent, but not exhibiting any rich resources of mind; pointed, sarcastic, sometimes searching, but neither novel in its arguments, nor comprehensive in its plan. There were, however, in many of his succeeding addresses to the house, a readiness and an adroitness—a

tact—which seemed to denote that Mr. Roebuck would take rank rather among the skilful debaters, than the higher order of minds that form the class of thoughtful legislators and accomplished statesmen. More recent events have tended to ripen in him a power which promises to ensure him, on his return to parliament, a place of high honour, one for which the combined qualities of the prompt debater, and the high-principled statesman, can alone create a qualification. To these we shall presently advert.

To exhibit the course which Mr. Roebuck pursued upon entering parliament, and which he has with undeviating consistency followed up to the present day, it is only necessary to refer to the votes which he has given upon some of the leading questions of radical policy. We may enumerate his votes in favour of the ballot, triennial parliaments, repeal of the rate-paying clauses of the reform bill, for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, for a property-tax, a repeal of the corn-laws, &c.—against flogging in the army, the laws of primogeniture, the property qualification of members, &c. He has also originated, in two sessions of parliament, motions in favour of a system of national education, and one recently for an inquiry into the state of the Canadas. He is well known, moreover, to be an advocate for reforms of a wider and more deeply principled nature, than any that are likely to find favour in the house which assumes the title of reformed; for example, the principle of election in the House of Peers, free trade, the separation of church and state, the abolition of the penny stamp that shuts out the light of a free press, parliaments annually elected, and a franchise that should exclude no sane man in the three kingdoms from the right of representation, while he contributes to the taxation of the country.

Mr. Roebuck has more than once triumphed in a contested election for Bath; the development of his talents, and consistency of character, strengthening his claims from contest to contest. We must not omit to mention, that one of the most personally important results of his connexion with Bath, was his marriage in 1833, with Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Falconer of that city, “the author of several learned works, and formerly Bampton Lecturer at Oxford.” The political result was, such a gradually acquired strength of position in the House of Commons, as, supported by his constant enforcement

of Canadian claims, and a residence of some years in the Canadas, led to his appointment as agent for the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, by that House, which took place in February, 1835. The immediate causes of this appointment, which is assuredly complimentary, and probably no less profitable to Mr. Roebuck, were the disputes still pending between the executive government and the House of Assembly.

It appears that Mr. Roebuck went out to Canada when a mere boy, with his father-in-law, and only left that province in 1824, for the purpose of studying law in this country. One of his earliest contributions to the *Westminster Review*, was an article on Canada, in which he showed that nearly all the evils connected with the civil government there, are attributable to the constitution of the council, (the second branch of the legislature,) and that the remedy is to abolish the said council. The Canadians, however, are in the habit of looking to the United States for models of all matters of government, and therefore it is, that they demand an elective council, in order to render the second chamber a senate. In 1834, Mr. Roebuck brought the question before the House of Commons, and made an admirable exposition of the grievances of the Canadians, as explained in the "ninety-two resolutions" of the Assembly. At that time the Assembly had an agent here; a respected member of the Montreal bar, the Honourable Dennis B. Viger. But he was invariably treated with neglect by the Colonial Office, so that the Assembly had become disgusted with the conduct of the imperial government, and a disposition very generally prevailed to have no agent in England; in short, "to cut with the Colonial Office." This was the feeling, when the Convention sat at Montreal, in 1834. At this time, however, it was suggested that Parliament and the press had not been tried, that these two instruments held out some hope, and that through them one more effort should be made to impress upon government and the people of England, a due sense of the grievances to which the Canadians were subjected.

Accordingly, a petition, drawn up and signed by the Convention, was entrusted to an ardent advocate of Canadian interests, Mr. H. S. Chapman, with instructions to confer with Mr. Roebuck, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Hume, on the state of Canadian grievances.

This was in December, 1834. In February, the question of a parliamentary agent was discussed in the Assembly, and Mr. Roebuck was very properly appointed.

Soon after this appointment, in June 1835, Mr. Roebuck commenced the publication of a series of political "Pamphlets for the People," in which, assisted by some literary friends, he discussed the politics of the time; the work, exempted from the stamp duty, commanded a considerable sale. His object was, to supply the industrious classes with, as far as might be, a kind of substitute for a stamped journal, to disseminate really "useful" knowledge, and thus to smooth the way for a total repeal of the law by which newspapers were withheld from the masses. The project was carried on with much spirit for a period of nine months; but the circumstances of the time, and the parliamentary avocations of the editor, led to its abandonment. Not, however, before Mr. Roebuck, as the author of some strictures which need not be particularised, had become involved in an "affair of honour" with Mr. Black (the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*), which, after two exchanges of shots, terminated in the parties separating, probably as little satisfied with each other as before. Mr. Roebuck evinced his spirit, without proving himself to be either right or wrong on the original point of dispute. He had previously placed himself in an "awkward position" by an indiscriminate and intemperate attack upon the whole body of political editors, subeditors, contributors, and reporters; in not one of whom could the "evil eye" with which, in his bitterness of spirit, he contemplated the press, perceive a redeeming point of talent or honour. The conductors of the press, in short, were *en masse* a composition of ignorance and degradation—they were idiots and hirelings combined. Mr. Roebuck found it necessary to explain and retract in several instances; but the virulence and injustice of so general an assault injured him in the estimation of many, as denoting an infirmity of temper, and a want of that self-respect and calm control over his own feelings, which should be the characteristics of a man occupying the station to which he had been called. It must be owned that for a considerable period there was apparent, in the general tone and manner of Mr. Roebuck, a petulance and sourness—a "wasppishness," perhaps, not to use the phrase offensively—that

materially weakened his position in the House, by detracting from the cordial appreciation which his powers would otherwise have commanded. Even by his own party, at least by the hangers-on of the party, he did not appear to be thoroughly liked. His Canadian appointment gave him importance; his increasing practice in debate, and mature experience in parliamentary usages, his legal attainments and better cultivated powers, whether displayed in discussion in the House, or in the proceedings of committees, all tended favourably towards the establishment of that importance; yet there was too frequently something in his manner that impeded his progress, prevented him from attaining due weight, and made him feel the difference between catching the eye of the Speaker, and commanding the ear of the House.

His popularity out of doors, however, was not so retarded. In popular assemblies he stood up a favourite among the favourites; and made progress, not more by the boldness and breadth of the principles he advocated, than by the freedom, fervour, and ability which he brought to their advancement. It is possible, perhaps, that in some quarters, where spleen was likely to be mistaken for strength, irritability for an honest indignation, and impatience for a generous enthusiasm, that the very causes of a want of command in the House of Legislation promoted his popularity, and increased the number of his adherents. But the judicious saw these symptoms of an infirm temper, and an apparently ill-regulated mind, with regret: many of his best friends with apprehension. Let it be now stated, as an excuse that admits of no question, but claims free acceptance, that all this time Mr. Roebuck's state of health was irregular and delicate, and that his mind when in exercise upon a course of policy pursued, or the conduct of political men, was too often maintaining a contest with his body. How frequently is it necessary to inquire into the condition of the stomach of a statesman, before we can perfectly understand the real construction of his mental and moral character.

Mr. Roebuck's health, however, gradually amended, and at the commencement of the present year, he felt strong enough to say and do all that he was deemed capable of by those who best understood the quality of his mind. The moment was favourable. Past events and present prospects impressed the party to which he belonged with

a conviction, that "something must be done"—that "somebody must speak out." The game which the Liberal Ministry had played, and still meant to play, was manifestly, in their eyes, a losing one for the people. With the new session, a new course must be begun; the fallacy of the Whig argument must be laid bare; the hollowness of the Whig principle of reform must be exposed; the fruitlessness of acting over again the farce of the preceding session must be demonstrated; and the great democratic principle of legislation must be distinctly and unreservedly laid down. There must be no further mistake: the Radical doctrine must be asserted, illustrated, and explained, so as to be intelligible ever after to the "meanest capacity" in the House of Commons.

To what extent this sense of the necessity of speaking out, and of running every risk of snapping the bond which held the Whig and Radical in union, was felt by the party to which Mr. Roebuck belonged, need not, if it could, be ascertained. It is enough that Mr. Roebuck himself felt it; that he resolved to express it; that he incurred the risks and the responsibilities freely; that he set personal considerations at defiance; and stood up, on the opening night of the session of the present year, to rend and scatter the sophistries by which the ministerial course of action had been supported; to exhibit the utter weakness of the weapon by which the giant enemy was, through another session, to be assaulted; to expose the insanity or the hypocrisy of persevering in the old course; to review the past, and prophesy of the future; and to startle the aristocratic ear with an undaunted proclamation of the genius and philosophy of democratic government. For the singular steadiness and unsurpassed ability with which, right or wrong, he said what he designed to say, under circumstances of hostility on one side, and worse than hesitation on the other, calculated to excite dismay in many orators, and distrust even in the boldest, it is only necessary to refer to the memory of the whole public.

This spirit was not abated as the session advanced; Mr. Roebuck spoke frequently upon leading questions, and maintained the advanced ground which he had won. He did not fail, however, to support Ministers, while urging them to a quicker pace, and a more decided policy, and representing in its full force "the pressure from without."

That this course procured him no goodwill from the Whigs may be true; but that through this, or any other manifestation of Radicalism, he lost his election for Bath in August last, may safely be denied. That failure was attributable to Tory intimidation, but still more to Tory registration, and not to Whig hostility or indifference; else, why was General Palmer rejected as well as Mr. Roebuck?

Mr. Roebuck's genius has not hitherto manifested itself in invention or discovery; but he has a quick ear for truth, and great powers in combining the thoughts and speculations of his predecessors, so as to adapt them with the best practical effect to the times. Absence from parliament for a season may be of service to him—he will not be long out of action.



ENGRAVED BY H. ROBINSON

Beaumont

Portrait by Louis de Launay

RIGHT HON. WM. VISCOUNT MELBOURNE,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c. &c.

AT the commencement of a new reign, and on the eve of the assembling of a parliament elected, unlike the last, at a period when liberal advisers surround the sovereign, and reform is presumed to be in fashion at court, every fact and circumstance that may in the slightest degree influence the mind in forming a judgment of the character of the premier, is felt to be unusually interesting and significant. "What can we reason but from what we know?" and although, upon reviewing the circumstances of the time and the course too commonly pursued by public men, the past appears to offer but in few individual instances a ground whereon to build an accurate estimate of the future, yet every man's life presents some characteristic and distinctive points for speculation as to its onward course—"pegs to hang a doubt on," or a hope—landmarks fixed and palpable enough to enable us to see whether it be a deceptive mirage, or a solid and level pathway, that is spread before us.

If we glance back upon the political career of Lord Melbourne, we see nothing that could induce in any mind, that would speculate upon the future from the events of the past, a mistrust of the ministerial course at this critical point in the progress of reform. So far as the premier's own disposition and intentions are concerned, a reference to his past life, whether in or out of office, would seem to give assurance that the great cause with which he is now identified will kindle in him more and more a spirit of devotion and enthusiasm. In Lord Melbourne's parliamentary life, we find none of those inconsistencies and contradictions of which so much of the political biography of the age is made up, and which have struck to the very root of that public faith in the integrity and honour of public men,

wherein we find so strong but simple a guarantee of the generosity and virtue of a nation. His political motto seems to have been—

“ But soft—by regular approach—not yet.”

His fire is not of that sort which “ bursts out into sudden blaze ;” it has burnt up, even from the smallest possible spark, by slow degrees. The tree which now bears better fruit, hard and sour as it may sometimes be, than any that has in the present age been gathered in Downing Street, was but a sickly and unpromising shoot, planted in a cold soil, springing up in comparative obscurity, and scarcely inviting through a long season the hand of culture. The premier’s wisdom did not start into life, armed at all points, full-grown and perfect ; it was, for years after its birth, an infant still, increasing in strength and stature, but yet slender, weak, and timorous. His political “ build ” gave little prognostication of the “ Atlantean shoulders ” that alone are framed to bear

“ The weight of mightiest monarchies.”

Nor on that brow, which in its smoothness seemed satisfied with the world unreformed, or appeared to brood only on the means of discovering a new pleasure, did we ever expect to see

“ Deliberation sit, and public care.”

What Shakspeare says of greatness, may with as much truth be said of reform ; some are born reformers, some achieve reform, and some have reform thrust upon them. Lord Melbourne was not like Mr. O’Connell, “ a reformer in his cradle,”—nor has he undergone the humiliation of having reform thrust upon him, like the Duke of Wellington, when he saw himself compelled to admit Mr. O’Connell into the parliament of protestantism. His has been the middle course ; he has “ achieved ” reform. He has taken the slow and sure path. His telescope of observation has been drawn out by measured degrees. He has opened his eyes wider and wider, as the day of enlightenment wore on ; and in proportion as the prospect grew beneath his gaze, his progress also increased, perhaps, unconsciously—his step quickened—and his march forward became firm, unreluctant, and assured. It is true that in the judgment of the great body of the reformers, his ministerial march has not been rapid and decisive

enough ; yet looking to the leader's early opinions and associations, and to the influences that have operated upon his judgment during upwards of a quarter of a century, we must rather give him credit for the steadfastness and the extent of his views, than censure him for his imperfect and narrow perceptions. While many reformers of his "order" have cooled, Lord Melbourne has gradually warmed ; while many more who commenced with ardour, have remained stationary in spite of the changes of the time and fresh developments of opinion, Lord Melbourne has advanced (such as his ideas of advancement are) with the spirit of the age, and equally in liberality of sentiment and dignity of position has outstripped more hopeful competitors for distinction. This is much in his favour. It may be taken as an indication, if not as an assurance, that his progress has been the progress of principle, the movement of conscientious conviction, the effect of a gradual acquirement of political foresight and courage ; instead of a mercenary and contemptible compromise with his own opinions, and a surrender of his sense of truth, of right, and of justice, at the shrine of expediency—where so many of his contemporaries have yielded up for sordid and vulgar ends, all that would have rendered them in the eyes of their countrymen, morally respectable, however politically imbecile.

Lord Melbourne is, we believe, the first of his family who has risen to high rank in the state, although several of his ancestors were not unknown in the political world. Sir Matthew Lamb, of Brocket Hall, Herts, (Lord M.'s grandfather,) represented Peterborough in three parliaments, and was created a baronet in 1755. Peniston Lamb, son and successor of Sir Matthew, was raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1770, by the title of Lord Melbourne, baron of Kilmore, having previously sat in parliament for the borough of Marlborough. This nobleman was created an Irish Viscount in 1781, and finally elevated to the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1815, as Baron Melbourne, in the county of Derby. The present peer (eldest surviving son of the preceding) was born March 15, 1779, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The only domestic event of Lord Melbourne's early life, to which we need advert, is his marriage, in 1805, with Lady Caroline Ponsonby, (daughter of the Earl of Besborough,) well known for her

literary talents as Lady Caroline Lamb. In these sketches, professedly political, we do not intend to enter needlessly into the details of private life, for the gratification of an idle and sickly curiosity, but to confine ourselves for the most part to those broad and striking features of character, which alone constitute the claim of a statesman to general observation. The reader will, therefore, be spared all useless episcodical remark on the fate and peculiarities of this accomplished but unfortunate lady.

In the same year that he assumed the conjugal yoke, the Hon. William Lamb entered upon the laborious duties of public life. As member for Leominster, he immediately joined the Whig party, which was then headed by the illustrious Charles James Fox. In thus acting, there are readers who will think that he offered presumptive evidence of that sound sense and liberal feeling which have for the most part characterized his subsequent career.

Whatever objections may be urged against the Whigs, either as a party or as individuals, it is clear that a broad and bright line of distinction is to be drawn between them and their antagonists, the Tories. The Whigs, although at times practically wrong, are seldom so on system. They fail generally from political timidity—from a want of that force and perspicacity of mind which are indispensably necessary for carrying good principles into efficient operation. The Whigs in theory fully acknowledge the glorious right and duty of *progression* in the science of government:—that the people of the present day have the same right as their ancestors to improve inherited institutions; that the Reform Bill was a measure as justifiable in itself, and as much in the natural course of events, as that change of dynasty which the most bigoted of Tories now hail as the “glorious Revolution of 1688.” Mr. Lamb, ever on the right side of this broad bright line of distinction, has in later years defended its practical points more strenuously than many of his party seem disposed to do.

Mr. Lamb, at the general election of 1806, (caused by the accession of the Whigs to office on the death of Pitt,) became member for a district of Scotch burghs, and in December of that year moved the address in answer to the King’s speech.

The tenure of office by the Whigs was very short. They retired honourably in 1807, rather than renounce their principles with refer-

ence to the propriety of granting Catholic emancipation—a measure which, two-and-twenty years afterwards, they saw their adversaries compelled to concede, under an avowed apprehension of civil war, and after a bigoted opposition to it, which had been a continual source of danger, distraction, and expense to the empire.

Mr. Lamb was elected member for the borough of Portarlington in 1807; for Peterborough in 1816, and again in 1818. He was chosen as one of the representatives of the county of Hertford in 1819, and re-elected in 1820.

During many years of the long and chequered administrations of Perceval and Liverpool, Mr. Lamb continued in a course of moderate opposition, occasionally supporting the measures of government. In 1822, he appears to have considered that the gradually relaxing policy of ministers claimed from him a more frequent support; and this, without relinquishing the maintenance of the great principle of his party, that of Catholic emancipation, he freely accorded them, provoking now and then a reproach from some of the most zealous of his Whig friends. On the accession of Canning to office, five years afterwards (in 1827), he identified himself with the semi-liberal politics of that brilliant rhetorician, but domineering and inconsistent statesman, by accepting the office of Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Canning, whose administration lasted only from April to August (when it closed with his death), was succeeded by Lord Goderich. In the following January, this feeble minister resigned the helm of power, which was then consigned to the energetic though unskilful guidance of the Duke of Wellington. Under Lord Goderich Mr. Lamb retained the Irish Secretaryship, and continued to serve with the Wellington administration, until the “retirement” of Mr. Huskisson in 1828 induced him to resign. The death of his father occurring a few weeks afterwards, occasioned his removal to the House of Lords.

The prominent portion of Lord Melbourne’s life commenced in 1830, with the formation of the ministry of Earl Grey. On this occasion Lord M. was appointed Secretary of State for the Home Department, and with some memorable exceptions, fulfilled its duties satisfactorily.

The ill-ordered and worse-defended affair of Calthorpe Street, in 1832, was the first occurrence that shook the public confidence in his

judgment and liberality. A little preventive sagacity might easily, in the opinion of persons not disposed to subject the ministry to rigid criticism, have obviated the disgraceful occurrences; a little humanity afterwards in prosecuting inquiries, would have lessened the odium which this event attached to the ministry. Again, in 1834, an immense number of the working classes walked in procession to Lord Melbourne's office in Whitehall, in order to solicit a repeal of the sentence that had been passed on the Dorchester labourers—a sentence which, in its severity, at least equals any recorded incident of a similar nature during the legal despotism of Gibbs and Ellenborough. Lord Melbourne, however, and his colleagues, had not sufficient magnanimity to pay homage to the fine feeling of humanity and justice that occasioned the peaceable display; but appear to have regarded it merely as a rude and vulgar attempt to interrupt the course of law. The objectionable sentence was not finally rescinded on principle, but essentially because the Orangemen, both in England and Ireland, had been led by their bigoted absurdities into a dangerous and illegal position. It is with pain we record these particular events in Lord Melbourne's career; but duty to the public, and even an enlightened feeling of regard for erring statesmen, equally require that the truth should be spoken on such occasions; more especially when it is to be feared that convictions and feelings have been sacrificed, from anxiety to conciliate enemies whose secret contempt is much more dangerous than their avowed hostility.

Lord Grey resigned early in July, 1834, from circumstances arising out of that fatal concession to the genius of Toryism, the Irish Coercion Bill. Much good was effected during his administration, and much more would doubtless have been done, had that nobleman possessed political courage equal to his other endowments.

On the 14th of the same month, Lord Melbourne announced that he had been appointed Premier, and empowered to reconstruct the administration. The difficulties he had to contend against at this important juncture were still greater than those which beset his predecessor; Lord M., however, struggled bravely with them, till the close of the session, which took place in August. A great change, and ultimately a great triumph, now awaited him.

In November of this year (1834) died Earl Spencer, father of the

then Lord Althorp, a circumstance which occasioned a vacancy in the important office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and immediately led to a dissolution of the Ministry. In an interview which Lord Melbourne obtained with the King, in order to announce the event, he received the unexpected information that, under all circumstances, His Majesty considered the secession of Lord Althorp equivalent to a breaking-up of the Ministry. The Duke of Wellington, who had no doubt long been the object of secret predilection at Court, was entrusted with the formation of a new one. His Grace "recommended his friend, Sir Robert Peel," and parliament was forthwith dissolved.

The new parliament met in February, 1835, and great hopes were entertained by the Tories that the plausible tactics of Sir Robert Peel would suffice to bring back their "long summer-day" of quiet enjoyment. The result of the election for Speaker of the House of Commons showed, however, the insecure foundation on which their theories were based. In the Upper House, Lord Melbourne moved an amendment to the address, in which their lordships were made to express a hope that His Majesty's councils would be conducted in the spirit of well-considered reform; and to lament the dissolution of the late Parliament, as having interrupted and endangered the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were directed. The proposed amendment led to an angry debate on the causes of the late change of Ministry, but Lord M. did not press his motion to a division.

The unpopular Peel-Wellington administration contended till April against adverse votes in the Commons; but on the 8th of that month the two leaders announced in their respective houses that, in consequence of the recent resolution of the House of Commons, on the Irish Tithe question, the Ministers had tendered the resignation of their offices, and only waited the appointment of their successors. Ere the lapse of a century, it is to be hoped posterity will be so far enlightened as scarcely to credit the monstrous fact, that on this as on other occasions, the Tory bigots, backed by some renegade Whigs, refused to concede the very reasonable proposition which merely sought to appropriate the surplus of Irish ecclesiastical income, to purposes of general education, after making ample provision for the maintenance of the Protestant faith!

The two Houses adjourned for a short space, in order to allow for making the necessary arrangements in the executive government, and on the 18th of April, Lord Melbourne announced that he and his colleagues had been sworn into office.

One of the first and most beneficial acts of Lord Melbourne's second ministry, was the appointment of Lord Mulgrave to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. It is in this important portion of the empire that the healing effects of a liberal Ministry have been chiefly felt and appreciated. The principles of liberty and reform have taken too deep root in England and Scotland to be eradicated, or perhaps even materially injured, by any change in the executive government. But in Ireland the laws have so long been framed and administered in an exclusive and intolerant spirit, that had Lord Melbourne's ministry achieved no other good than the tranquillity of Ireland, their accession to office would have formed a subject of warm congratulation to all lovers of freedom and justice.

Among the principal acts of a liberal tendency which have signalised the second Ministry of Lord Melbourne, may be mentioned the Municipal Reform Bill, the dissolution of the Orange Lodges, and the great reduction in Newspaper Stamps. Many other reforms have been effected, and many more have been delayed (they cannot be finally prevented) by a short-sighted opposition in the House of Lords.

In person and manner Lord Melbourne has many advantages. In debate he manifests a spirit of manly candour which bespeaks attention to the soundness of his argument. A polished orator he certainly is not; but he possesses strong sense, and is equally superior to a petty irritability in himself, and a petty malice towards his opponents. There is a notion abroad that Lord Melbourne is sluggish in his nature, and averse to business; but we know not that this opinion has any foundation but in Tory scandal. A malignant, and too often successful perseverance in the bestowal of degrading nicknames, and the unfounded imputation of unpopular personal habits, is one of the most common poisoned weapons of the viler portion of the party. None of their mere assertions, however often reiterated, can be safely relied on as facts. Lord Melbourne is not the only member of his Ministry who has been the subject of this species of attack. The best answer they can make to it, and the only one they need, will be

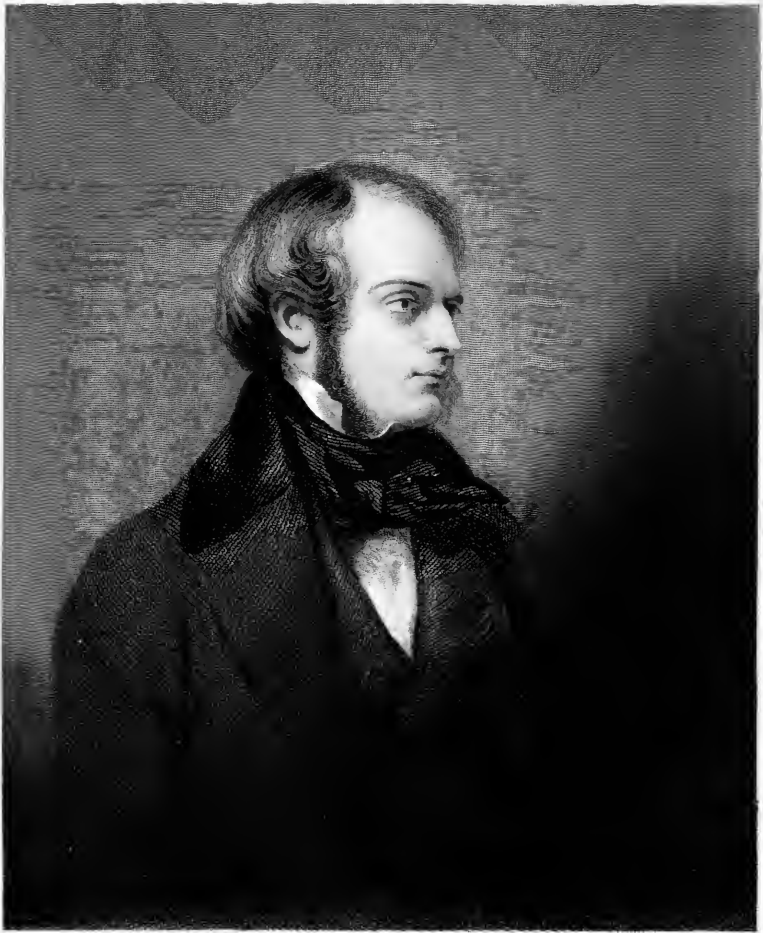
an active and zealous perseverance in those liberal measures which have earned for their government the good wishes of the public and the hatred of their calumniators.

We shall make but brief allusion to the most formidable shape which that hatred has yet ventured to assume. We know not what vile aspect it may yet put on, or what poisoned weapon it may be frantic enough to use, should court influence aid, as it promises to do, the energy of the Cabinet in abolishing English Church-rates, and redressing Irish grievances, civil and religious.

On the 22nd June, 1836, a special jury, empanelled to try an action for criminal conversation, in which the Hon. George Norton was the plaintiff, and Lord Melbourne the defendant, delivered after a minute's deliberation a verdict in his Lordship's favour. The daring and desperate character of the expedients to which the enemies of the Melbourne ministry will not scruple to resort, was glaringly evinced upon this occasion. All deference to personal delicacy, all respect for private character and for public morality, was, in the eagerness of the Tories to strike a deadly blow at the reputation, and therefore at the official existence of the premier, most unblushingly set aside. The arrow, so far as his Lordship was concerned, happily missed its aim. The more reflecting and just-minded portion of the people only saw in the bitter and implacable animosity of the common enemy, a token that the Minister was not unworthy of confidence and respect. They read, in the story of his persecution, something like a certificate of the uprightness of his intentions and the constancy of his purpose. It was impossible that a discriminating eye could look with indifference or suspicion upon a character which the anti-national party deemed it worth while to honour with such wilful and malignant aspersions.

To the slight speculation already offered upon the principle which governs the present policy of Lord Melbourne, we may add our impression that his Lordship would not hesitate to "enlarge his measures" in exact proportion to the demand, constitutionally and unequivocally made, by the great thinking masses of the people of these kingdoms. There is or was a pretty schoolboy maxim, rich in meaning, which, however expressed, may be thus rendered, "those who ask, are not to have; those who ask not, want not." Upon this

maxim, the Whigs have been too generally prone to act. Lord Melbourne, we conceive, adopts only the latter half of the conclusive rule. Those who have wants must make them known, if they expect redress at his hands. With him, a grievance must be declared, before it can hope for cure. He is not the *preux chevalier* of liberal premiers ; he laughs at the notion of volunteering for a forlorn hope ; he is no knight-errant in politics, no ministerial Quixote, no sleepless and ungovernable enthusiast in the cause of reform. To him, this is not the age of chivalry ; nor, if it were, is the prime-minister its pink and flower. His education, habits, character, and experience, all unfit him for tracing out in the social condition of the people the causes of evil, with a view to the application of practical remedies ; but those practical remedies he would not attempt to withhold, the evils of the existing system being laid bare to all eyes, and proclaimed by the voice of a nation. He must have the popular signature to the bond, before he will set his seal to it. He must have the guarantee of a decided majority of the suffering that a great wrong exists, before he deems himself justified in substituting a great right in its place. In short he is formed to follow, rather than to lead, public opinion. The people must help themselves, if they would derive help from him. So was it with the English dissenters on the church-rate question ; so was it with the Irish Catholics in the matter of their many grievances. They spoke out, and found him not unwilling to listen. He will not risk “ collision,” and agitate society, by gratuitously pressing reforms upon a community indifferent to them. Proffered service, he recollects, has proverbially an ill odour. He will afford society no opportunity of regarding a social improvement as a state-impertinence. He will not “ unsought be won.” But if this view be correct, and Lord Melbourne be constitutionally incapable of anticipating social wants, and volunteering essential reforms, it may be scarcely less confidently asserted, that reforms, steadfastly sought and recognised as needful, will not, if depending upon his will, be reluctantly or ungracefully conceded.



Amph. Deader

Engraved by J. G. ...

JOHN TEMPLE LEADER, ESQ., M. P.

A "faint heart" is no more calculated to charm a free constituency than to win a fair lady. Mr. Leader's political success affords a striking example of what may be accomplished by a bold spirit evinced in a good cause. He has not been afraid to risk, and his reward has been prompt. He has not hesitated to make a sacrifice, and he has been honourably and triumphantly repaid. Three years ago he was simply a young gentleman of fortune, pursuing a course of wise pleasure, and storing up practical knowledge as fast as he could gather it, by travelling in other countries, without dreaming of immediate distinction in his own. Two years ago, although a member of parliament, his name had scarcely been heard of beyond the limits of the borough of Bridgewater. A twelvemonth since, although he had then attracted some observation in parliamentary circles both by his talents and independence of character, distinguishing himself from

"The mob of gentlemen who *vote* with ease,"

at the beck of the minister or the bidding of the opposition-chief, yet nothing appeared less likely than that the youthful, inexperienced, and untried representative of a small constituency should all of a sudden shoot a-head in the race of distinction, obtain possession of a post of high honour, and stand prominently forward in the first rank of popular reformers. No event could have occurred more fortunately for Mr. Leader, than the opportunity which was afforded him, in the spring of the present year, of signalling his political courage, his patriotic enthusiasm, and his personal gallantry and "contempt for costs," by fighting the good fight of principle in the city of Westminster, against the fine old English Renegade, who had done his utmost (the personification of Falstaff's "Forceible Feeble,") to render morality a mockery, and sincerity a jest.

This memorable passage-at-arms, and the victory by which it was so speedily followed, form the chief events in Mr. Leader's political

life, on which a comment may be indulged; his career furnishing us with little to record, and less to remark upon.

John Temple Leader was born on the 7th of May, 1810, at Putney Hill, Surrey; the seat of his father, William Leader, Esq., who was member of parliament, first for Camelford, and afterwards for Winchelsea, from 1812 to 1826. He received the groundwork of his education at the Charterhouse, and was thence transferred to Christchurch College, Oxford. Released from his books at the usual age, and with a due share of the honours of study, he entered upon a course of that "proper study of mankind" which consists in seeing human life, in some of its most varied, characteristic, and picturesque forms. Mr. Leader did not seek merely the most fashionable scenes, attractive in the eyes of the tourist, or pursue the common hackneyed route, the wonders of which we may make ourselves tolerably acquainted with by consulting the first novel or note-book at the nearest circulating library. Not bounded in his views of foreign subjects of interest by Paris and the Rhine, he travelled in several countries of Europe, from Norway to Sicily, and in some he resided a sufficient time to enable him to form a deliberate judgment upon what he saw, to examine the state of society, to watch the operations of government—to speculate, while observing what the people were, upon what they might be made—and thus, by experience, observation, comparison, and thought, to qualify himself, on his return to this country, for the post which it was his ambition to attain, a seat in the council of the nation.

His wish was speedily gratified. At the election which succeeded the temporary resumption of office by the Tories in 1834, Mr. Leader was chosen member for Bridgewater. This was in January, 1835. He took his seat in opposition at the commencement of the session, but during his first year did not venture upon any oratorical exploit, or ambitious display. He spoke briefly on the presentation of petitions on the Municipal Corporation Reform Bill, and on the Orange Lodges, having been elected on the committee to inquire into those unconstitutional societies.

The following session he commenced with increased activity; he introduced, in February, a motion for a committee of inquiry into the Select Vestries of Bristol. In March, he supported Sir William

Molesworth's motion relative to the regiments of Guards; in June he seconded Mr. Grote's resolution in favour of the Ballot, and followed this by moving for an inquiry into the appropriation of the million voted for the Clergy of the Established Church in Ireland.

At the commencement of the last session of this "Peel Parliament," that is to say, in February of the present year, we find Mr. Leader seconding Sir William Molesworth, on the question of abolishing entirely the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament. In March he associated himself with Mr. Roebuck, in taking an active part against the government resolutions relative to the affairs of Lower Canada, and moved as an amendment, that the Legislative Council of that province should be rendered elective. Failing in this, he sought to avert the threatened evil by moving that the resolutions of government should be postponed, in order to afford time to communicate with the Assembly of Lower Canada on some means for producing pacification in that colony.

During his short term of parliamentary duty, we find him recording his votes upon the following important questions—and, as every real reformer will admit, recording them on the right side, and to his own honour:—For the Vote by Ballot; for the Removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords; for a Revision of the Corn Laws, of the entire repeal of which he is a strenuous advocate; for the Abolition of the practice of Military Flogging; for the Modification of the Law of Primogeniture in certain cases; for the Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament; for the Repeal of the Rate-paying Clauses of the Reform Act; for the Repeal of the Malt Tax; and for the total and immediate Abolition of the Taxes on Knowledge.

Within the same period, Mr. Leader was laudably active out of doors, giving his attendance at various public meetings, both in the metropolis and in the country, and frequently speaking with admirable effect. It was soon remarked that there was a style and spirit about his addresses to the people that promised him popularity, and denoted a mind calculated to render services to the cause it supported. On some of these occasions—we may mention meetings at Bridgewater, in October, 1835, at Taunton, in September, 1836, at Totness, in December of the same year, at Bath, in January last, and in several addresses delivered during the two election contests in Westminster

that have since occurred, Mr. Leader expressed his opinions in favour of shortening the duration of parliaments to three, or two, or even one year—of extending the suffrage as widely and as speedily as possible—of “reforming” the House of Lords—of instituting a thorough reform of the present system of county government—of establishing local courts—and adopting a system of national education.

The liberality of sentiment thus evinced, and the talent with which it was supported, added to the weight which a reputation for wealth naturally confers, all tended to point out Mr. Leader to the radical reformers of Westminster as a gentleman every way qualified to sit as their representative, when Sir Francis Burdett might take it into his head to act with so much bare decency to his constituents as to resign the post which he only nominally filled. A public meeting of the electors having demanded this resignation, Sir Francis complied with the call, and ceasing to be their member, instantly reappeared in the character of a candidate. This was a stroke of policy not exactly anticipated; there was a gallant daring, a spirit of confidence amounting to the chivalrous, in the step, that won for the Baronet a few good wishes, which, had the vacancy occurred in the ordinary way, would not have been his. On the other hand, the liberals were taken by surprise, and their chosen candidate, the man whom they had selected to try the question with their ex-member, was already in parliament, snug and safe in his seat for Bridgewater. Mr. Leader, however, remembered the adage about a “faint heart,” with which we set out; at every personal risk and inconvenience, with the chance of forfeiting his claims upon the electors of Bridgewater, and of being shut out of parliament for four or five years—with the certainty, moreover, of expending some thousands of pounds in this (as far as he was individually concerned) superfluous contest—he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and leaped undauntedly into the arena, to oppose the principles of a reformer to the want of principle of a renegade.

No contest for many years past has excited so much interest. It was a contest voluntarily engaged in by both parties, and hazarded on either side solely on public grounds. It was a single combat, not between two mere candidates for parliamentary distinction, but between two members of parliament, quitting their posts in the assembly, with the view of hastening an adjustment of differences between their

respective parties by trial by battle, and of giving the constituency of that great city wherein the representatives of the empire were sitting, an opportunity of declaring their sentiments upon the question at issue in the House of Commons itself. The personal contrast exhibited by the two chivalrous combatants heightened the effect. "Crabbed Age and Youth" had met in mortal strife. The famous fight between the gallant canine hero, and the hoary lion in whom enslaved habits had taken the place of a noble nature, presented but a tame image of the political encounter. It was the liberal spirit of St. George grappling with the old dragon of Toryism. "The eyes of Europe were upon Westminster," and the fate not simply of Ireland but of the empire seemed dependent upon the vote of every individual elector. The unparalleled energies of the Tories, the protestation of the Apostate himself, that he was a Reformer still, and absolutely unchanged, and the force of habit operating upon a section of the less zealous and enthusiastic portion of the liberal constituency, who having always voted for Burdett, deemed it a palpable inconsistency ever to vote for Leader, decided the struggle, by a result that just afforded the enemies of reform an excuse for celebrating a triumph, though the triumph it did *not* afford them. The votes recorded on the occasion prove this. On May 12th, when the state of the poll was announced, the numbers were, for Sir Francis Burdett 3567, and for Mr. Leader 3052; the reformer being in a minority of 515. Exactly three months afterwards, under exactly the same registration, Sir Francis, by a timely retreat, covered by the most miserable excuse ever made by man, evinced his sense of the impossibility of being returned with Sir George Murray in opposition to two reformers. The result showed that he did right in shifting his place, as he had shifted his principles. Mr. Leader was returned for Westminster at the election in August, when he polled 226 more votes than Burdett had mustered in May among Tories and Liberals combined. His votes were—3793, giving him a majority of 1173 over the proclaimed Tory candidate, Sir George Murray, the nominated of Burdett, and the hope of the Peel-Wellington circle.

Mr. Leader's absence, therefore, from parliament has been but of brief duration. From his entire conduct during the contest in the spring, the success which has now rewarded him was universally

anticipated, whenever the occasion might occur. His manly and unaffected bearing, his frankness and energy, his intelligence and uprightness of character, rendered him upon a first acquaintance so general a favourite, that even those grave objections to his youth which the partizans of second childhood had vehemently advanced three months before, were given up when an unprejudiced appeal to consistency and reason was made; and perhaps there is no member of parliament who can more permanently and securely fix the affections of his constituents than Mr. Leader may do, by simply justifying in act the opinion of his integrity, by religiously abstaining from entering into any pledge which he may not be able to redeem, and by showing a noble respect for the represented, in preserving the just self-respect of a representative.



G. Grote

from a Drawing by G. Dawkins.

GEORGE GROTE, ESQ., M. P.

GEORGE GROTE is the eldest son of the late George Grote, Esq. of Badgmoor, Oxfordshire, (who died at that place in June, 1830, at the age of sixty-eight). He was born November 17, 1794, at Clayhill, near Beckenham, in Kent, his father's residence for upwards of forty years. His grandfather, Andrew Grote, was of Livonian origin, and was bred to commerce in his own father's counting-house in Bremen, whence he came to London, and there established himself as a merchant, about the year 1740. After some years of successful attention to business, he founded, in conjunction with the late Sir George Prescott, the banking-house in Threadneedle-street, which still continues to bear their names at the head of the firm. Mr. Andrew Grote married first in 1745, Miss Ann Adams, by whom he had one child, a son, born in 1748, (Joseph,) who inherited from his mother a good estate in Oxfordshire, and resided at Badgmoor in that county, until his death in 1811. He was never married, and his landed property passed to his half-brother, the late George Grote, Esq. Mr. Grote married secondly, in 1760, Miss Mary Ann Culverden, who bore him nine children, of whom George, the father of the member for London, was the eldest, and became in his turn the head of the firm in Threadneedle-street. He married in 1791, Selina Maria, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Peckwell, a well known divine and effective pulpit orator of that period. Mrs. Peckwell's maiden name was De Blosset; her ancestors, a French family of the Touraine, were among the Protestant fugitives in 1689, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes; they established themselves in Ireland, and left a considerable estate in the county Dublin, to their heirs, of whom Mrs. Grote became the sole surviving representative some years since, on the death of her brother, the late Sir Robert Henry Blosset, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. This lady bestowed

much care on the early education of her son George, and inspired him with a love of study which has never deserted him. He was sent when between five and six years of age, to a school at Sevenoaks, kept by Mr. Whitehead, whence he was removed in a year or two to Charterhouse school, and there profited by the instruction it afforded in classical learning under Dr. Raine, until he entered upon commercial duties in his father's banking-house, in his sixteenth year. From that period Mr. Grote pursued an unremitting course of study, leading a life of privacy, little diversified by incident or adventure, for many years.

He married, in 1820, Miss Harriet Lewin, second daughter of Thomas Lewin, Esq., a country gentleman of the county of Kent, who bore him a son within the same year, but which survived its birth only a few days. He has had no other children born to him. After his marriage, Mr. Grote continued to lead the same secluded life as before, confining his intercourse with society to a few intimate and instructed individuals. About the year 1823, he commenced writing a History of Greece, upon which work he steadily laboured till the political movement of 1830-31 aroused him to personal exertion in behalf of the reviving cause of government amendments. His father's death in 1830 left him in possession of an independent, though not a large property, and he now felt it incumbent upon him to stand forward as the representative of certain opinions in public life, the advancement of which ranked among his most ardent desires. His successful contest for the city of London in December, 1832, may be said to have emancipated that constituency from the ancient corporation thralldom, and his example and unwearied exertions have unquestionably served to unite and strengthen the reform party in the city, beyond what could have been anticipated previous to the events of the last few years.

The first published effort of Mr. Grote's pen was a pamphlet on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, purporting to examine the arguments propounded in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, ascribed, and justly ascribed, to Sir James Macintosh. It was published by Baldwin and Cradock, and has been much admired for the closeness of its reasonings, the force and purity of the style, and the clearness of its conclusions. It was printed without the author's name, in 1821,

when he was twenty-five years of age, and entitled "Statement of the Question of Parliamentary Reform."

His subsequent writings have been few—the "Essentials of Parliamentary Reform," with his name, in 1831; an article on Mitford (professedly on Mr. Fyne Clinton) in the *Westminster Review*; and an article on Mr. Taylor's "Statesman," in the *London Review*, are all, with the exception of his printed speeches, that we are aware of, which this gentleman has written for the press.

It is to be lamented that the historical work in which he was engaged, and for the successful composition of which his intellectual qualifications were so well calculated, has been of necessity interrupted. But it is hoped by those who have the advantage of knowing Mr. Grote, that the relish with which he still cherishes the study of the ancient authors, will sustain itself so as to enable him, at the first favourable season, to resume his task, and complete a design so deeply connected with the profitable study of history among the youth of this country.

We now come to the consideration of Mr. Grote's parliamentary life. Though brief, it has been far from uneventful. Glancing at his career since 1832, and measuring his present position by the public means he has employed to attain it, it may be said that he has at once done much and little. Perhaps, no man who has been so sparingly before the public, has rendered himself so well known. Few members at least have attained such weight in the House of Commons, by scantier exertions or in a shorter time. In fact, he at once took his place in the foremost rank of the more studious and intellectual spirits (few as they are) in that House; and his reputation for integrity, as well as talent, became fixed in the course of a session. He has steadily preserved the noiseless tenour of his way. He has not "fussed" himself into fame. He has no sympathy with the brawlers; from the society of these he is cut off, equally by his intellectual taste, his moral sensitiveness, and his scrupulous manners. Were every member like Mr. Grote, the House of Commons would be the most dignified assembly in Europe; it would be changed alike in temper, habit, and sentiment. Make but the qualities that distinguish the Member for London the test of fitness in a representative, and we should not know our own House of Com-

mons again. The national assembly would then indeed become a great instrument to “raise us up,”

“And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.”

The Radical party in Parliament owes something of its gradually improving character, and growing importance in the House, to the influence of those qualities, whether natural endowments or acquired tastes, which are admitted to be generally recognised in Mr. Grote. There is visible in him a superiority, mental as well as moral, which neither Whig nor Tory can affect to despise. To use the current phrase, he confers a “respectability” upon Radicalism, which in the eyes of the denouncers of that creed, is truly lamentable! When descanting upon the ignorance, the vulgarity, and the factiousness of the “revolutionist” party, they find a glance at Mr. Grote quite disconcerting. It is not that he is a man of importance in the commercial world; so are many professors of liberality. It is not that he contradicts the aristocratic theory that Radicals have nothing to lose, and were never subjected to the discipline of a schoolmaster; other champions of the popular cause are wealthy and educated, as well as Mr. Grote. It is not that he proves by his conduct that Radicalism and disinterestedness may associate in the same person, and demonstrates by his bearing, that it is possible for a friend of the working classes to be a gentleman; we hope there are many other instances of this happy union both in and out of the house. But it is because the mind of Mr. Grote is distinguished by a certain statesmanlike quality, that ranges far above the average reach of the capacity of the collective wisdom; because, while in bearing, position, and accomplishment, he is unexceptionable as a member of any party, he unites to a proclaimed sympathy with the advocates of liberal legislation, evidences of a practical talent and comprehensiveness of understanding, admirably fitted for Ministerial exercise. They see, in short, that the Member for London is one of the few who are fashioned by nature, education, and circumstance, to make an excellent Radical minister.

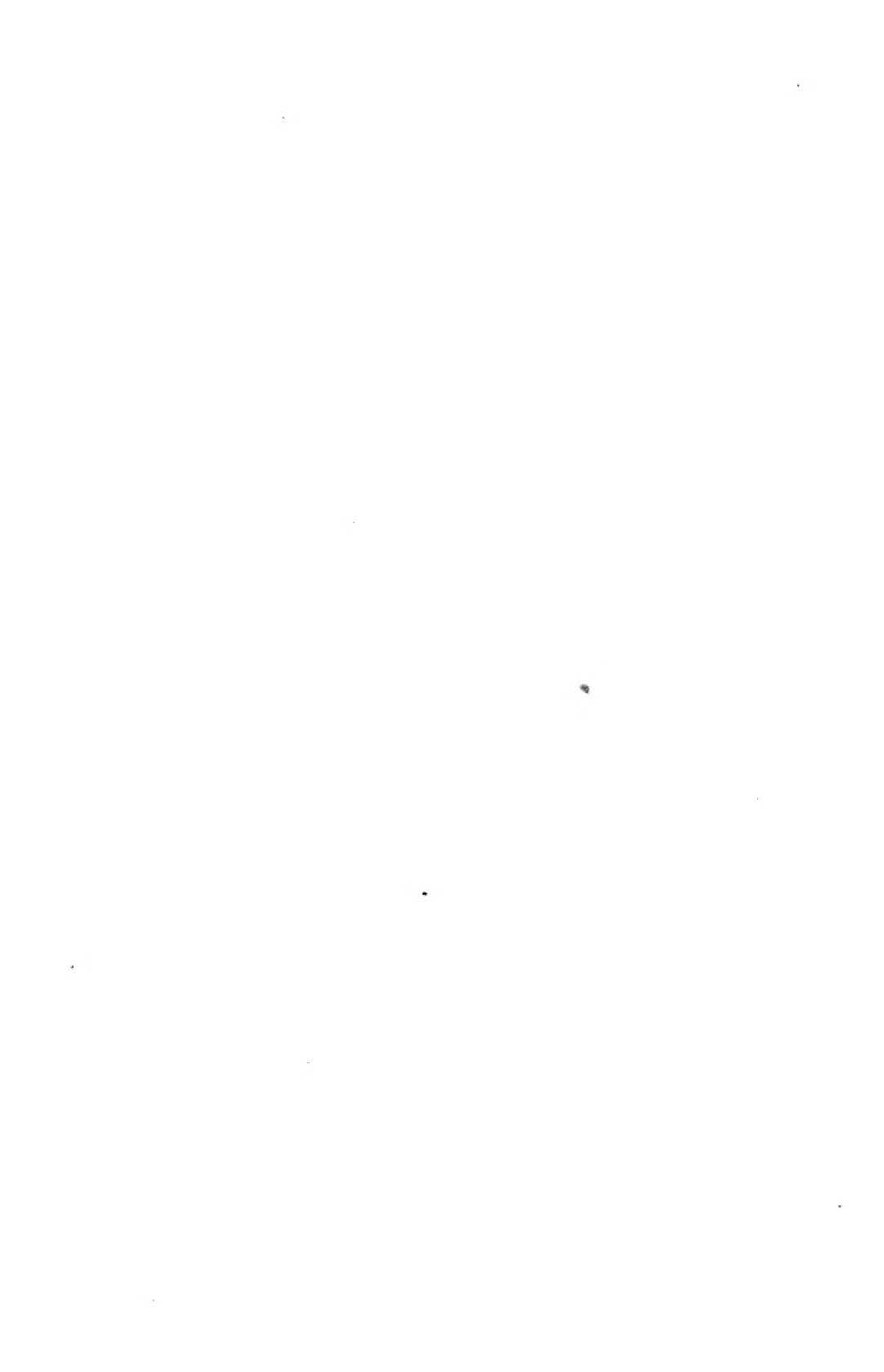
If the party in the country to which Mr. Grote belongs, and by which he is justly respected, have anything to complain of in him as a leader, it is undoubtedly on the score of a want of energy and

of boldness, that they would "hint a fault." There have been occasions, out of doors as well as in the house, when a little more appearance of that fervour, with which he no doubt desires the success of the Reform cause, and a little less of that cautious reserve which, repressing action in one, chills enthusiasm in many, would have rendered much public service.

On the one great question of which Mr. Grote has assumed the management in Parliament, he cannot, assuredly, be charged with being wanting in energy. To the advocacy of the ballot, the Member for London has brought a constant activity of purpose, admirable reasoning powers, and a zealous and wise application of them. No one question, perhaps, that now engages the national interest has been so thoroughly laid bare by any one mind, as this has been by the searching and comprehensive powers of Mr. Grote; none, certainly, have been more patiently examined or more eloquently unfolded, and none have been enforced with more perseverance and fidelity. Upon referring to the annual expositions of the "political justice" of the ballot, which Mr. Grote, in the discharge of a public trust has been called upon to make, it is impossible not to be struck with the keen-sighted views, the calm and dispassionate scrutiny into consequences, the logical calculation of causes and results, the quick anticipation of objections, the easy and entire clearing-up of doubts already created, the frankness of admission and the fervour of advocacy, the masterly completeness of a proof of necessity established without straining or effort, and submitted to the candid mind free from flaw,—it is impossible not to be struck with these characteristics of the honourable member's speeches, in demonstration of the moral and mechanical applicability of the ballot as a mode of voting. That the increased recklessness of the Tories in pursuing their schemes for bringing the Commons into harmony with the Lords, that the unparalleled effrontery with which they have intrigued and intimidated at recent elections, and especially at the last, have largely contributed to produce, among the constituent body, a general conviction of the necessity of secret voting, is undoubtedly true; but it is as certain that that question owes much of its present influence over the minds of reflecting men, long insensible of its efficacy or doubtful of its moral harmlessness, to the sound, clear, and philosophical expositions of Mr. Grote.

Acquitting Mr. Grote of all imputation of inactivity, or want of steadfastness in his advocacy of the ballot, it is, nevertheless, doubted by many, whether his singleness of aim may not have impeded the progress of the question in one direction, as much as it has accelerated it in another. Here, again, we encounter the workings of the popular suspicion of Mr. Grote's timidity. Much as he has advanced the ballot by his singleness and energy, it is believed that he would have furthered it much more, by boldly connecting with it an extension of the suffrage. In hinting at this objection, we simply glance at the criticisms upon Mr. Grote's conduct and temperament, which are apt to be heard in popular assemblies where Radicalism rears its head. For ourselves, the sentiments we have ventured to indicate respecting the political course and the moral excellence of the Member for London, will be a sufficient assurance of our belief, that he can well afford to sustain the weight of even graver objections than these. Where is the fortunate struggler on behalf of his fellow creatures, whose foresight and wisdom have passed invariably unimpeached? It is much to Mr. Grote's honour, as it doubtless is to his exultation, that no living politician, even in times when calumny is far from being out of fashion, has hitherto ventured to deny his endowments, to suspect his disinterestedness, or to question his integrity.

It only remains for us to remark, that the gradual declension of Mr. Grote's majority in the City of London—he being by far the first of the reform candidates in 1832, and by much the lowest in 1837—must not be taken as a sign of the unpopularity of his political opinions; Sir Matthew Wood, who was at the head of the poll at the last election, being quite as far advanced in Radicalism as Mr. Grote. It is rather a tribute to the superior power and the formidable efficiency with which this gentleman maintains inviolable the truth of his opinions. The increase of hostility, as evinced by his position on the poll in August, is a natural consequence of the position he has commanded amongst his party. Instead of being even shaken by a Tory petition against his return, it is confidently believed that he will more than ever deserve the compliment of such an hostility, by intrepidity of action in the present Parliament.





John Bousning.

From a painting by W. L. Lutz.

JOHN BOWRING, LL.D.

IN the first rank of those Reformers who have been doers rather than dreamers in the world, who have devoted their best years to the best objects, and preferred practical results even though small to visionary projects of an impracticability proportioned to their magnificence, stands Dr. Bowring.

John Bowring was born at Larkbear, near Exeter, on the 17th October, 1792. His ancestors had been for many generations connected with the woollen manufacture, which, for centuries, was the "staple" trade of the West of England, but which the progress of machinery is gradually transferring to districts where coal is cheaper and more abundant. He received the ordinary education of the middle classes of society, and was taught the elements of the classics and mathematics at a country school near Dartmoor, whose wild and romantic scenery made on his young mind a stronger impression than the lessons of the dissenting teacher. At the age of fourteen he was employed by his father in his trade, which principally consisted at that time in the preparation of coarse woollens for China and the Spanish Peninsula. He was of studious and reserved habits, devoting almost all his leisure to a secluded study whose walls he had lined with books, with objects of natural history, with chemical apparatus, antiquities, and various curiosities—a museum, in fact, seldom opened even to the members of his family—for he was in the habit of locking himself in before day-break, and retiring to it again when the labours of the day were over. French was the only language he learned from a master, one of the many clerical royalist refugees whom the revolution had flung upon the shores of England; a class of men, who, though for the most part little apt for the business of instruction, rendered great services by spreading through the place they inhabited some knowledge of their maternal tongue. Bowring

had an intense desire to acquire languages, and unknown even to any of his acquaintances, he mastered Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, and made much progress in German and Dutch before he was sixteen years old. His habit was to seek every opportunity of speaking; he discovered that the tongue was by far the most useful organ for learning spoken language. He passed all the hours he could dispose of with the Italians who, at that time, perambulated England for the sale of barometers, &c., or with the Lucchese boys, who then as now, but with far inferior wares, hawked their plaster casts through the country. He found that the great art of language-learning is to get rid of the notion of translating the English phrase,—that the same thought takes another shape when expression is given to it in another tongue, that the real and exact synonymes of language are few, and that dictionary aid, at least in the beginning of study, is rather pernicious than useful. He thought that the best mode of learning another tongue was to watch that easy mental process by which an infant acquires its own, by proceeding from the simplest signs and sounds to the more complex and entangled, from the noun to the verb, from the root to its various ramifications and auxiliaries. In this way Bowring acquired an easy command of most of the modern continental languages, having published translations which may be grouped under the following heads; the Slavonic, Russian, Servian, Polish, Bohemian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, and Illyrian; Scandinavian, Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish; Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, High Dutch, Low Dutch, Frisian, and Allemannish; Esthonian, Lettish, and Finnish; Chingarian, Biscayan, French, Provençal, and Gascon; Italian with its various dialects; Spanish, Portuguese, Catalanian, Valencian, and Gallician.

A great portion of Dr. Bowring's life, since the age of twenty, has been passed in foreign countries. He was originally intended for commerce, and during the Peninsular war he inhabited various ports in the north of Spain, and received consignments of merchandise to very large amounts. He next visited Northern Europe, remaining some time in Russia, and traversing Sweden, Finland, and Germany; he also spent some time in Portugal; making it his rule, wherever he dwelt, to live more among the natives than among his own countrymen, and by adopting the usages and speaking the language of the

country, to make himself better acquainted with all its peculiar and interesting points. In this manner it has often happened to him to have lived ten months almost without entering an inn, but every where he was most hospitably received in countries, Holland for example, whose inhabitants have obtained a character for coldness and unsociableness with strangers, which they by no means merit. Dr. Bowring has also been engaged in several official missions to foreign countries. In 1828, he visited the Low Countries in order to examine into the manner in which their public accounts are kept, and in 1830 he was nominated with Sir Henry Parnell to a similar mission in France. The reports he made on the accountancy of both countries have been laid before Parliament. In 1831 he was nominated with Mr. Villiers, our present ambassador at Madrid, as a commercial commissioner, to examine, with two French commissioners, into the tariffs of France and Great Britain, with a view to the extension of the trading relations between the two countries. Though the modifications introduced were far less important than the real interest of both countries required, still they have led to an enormous increase of the trade with France. In 1834, Dr. Bowring was charged with a mission to Belgium, and in 1835, with one to Switzerland; his report on which led to some "sharp sparring" in the House of Commons, Mr. Goulburn objecting to the expenses of his journey being paid out of the public purse. The report, however, has been translated into several languages, and contains remarkable evidence of the powers and benefits of the free trade principle, in enabling a country so disadvantageously situated as Switzerland to overcome every difficulty, and to bring her manufactures into the remotest markets in competition even with our own. Dr. Bowring visited northern and central Italy in 1836, for the purpose of extending our commerce with those parts; and he is now engaged in a similar mission to Egypt, having, we are assured, every prospect of a successful issue.

Our traveller was, in 1822, arrested at Calais by a telegraphic order from the French government, and kept during several months in solitary confinement. The cause of his detention was never fully known; but he was probably suspected of being one of the links in the chain of European liberalism, which caused so much disquiet to the despotic sovereigns of Europe. When he was claimed by the

British government, who insisted either on his release from imprisonment, or on his being subjected to some specific accusation, the charge laid against him was, that he had been a party to the attempt to bribe the keeper of the French jail, in which Rones and the young serjeant of the Rochelle were confined; an attempt which failed; for though the sum agreed upon was paid to the mercenary jailer, he kept the money, denounced the plot to the police, and the unfortunate victims were guillotined the following day. The real cause of Dr. Bowring's arrest was probably an idea of obtaining possession of important despatches whereof he was the bearer to the governments of the Spanish Peninsula, and which gave notice to those governments of the intended invasion of Spain by the armies of that monarch, who had only a few days before assured the British ambassador, "on the word of a king," that the project of invasion never entered into his royal mind! Mr. Canning's urgency led to Dr. Bowring's release; but, although no indictment had been lodged against him, he was banished from France for ever. Tyranny, however, is short-sighted. It happened that the banished reformer *did* return to France; it was in 1830, when he was the bearer of the congratulations of the British people on the overthrow of that Bourbon despotism, under whose visitations he had been a sufferer. A public dinner was given to Dr. Bowring at the Hôtel de Ville by Odillon Barrot, the prefect of the Seine, and the proceedings, with the speeches made on the occasion were reported at length in the *Moniteur*. At that time Louis Philip made it his boast that in principle he was a republican, and said it was his highest pride to owe his throne to the "sovereignty of the people." Some curious conversation between the citizen king and Dr. Bowring found its way to the press at that period; and it was said, we believe with truth, that at the first interview with Louis Philip, the gilt chair in which he was sitting broke down, and he was saved from falling by the Prefect of the Seine and Dr. Bowring. The accident may have been the omen of a fall, but the interposition of Reformers must be considered as a false prediction.

The doctrines of philosophical Radicalism had no one recognised organ in England, until the illustrious Bentham—associated with Dr. Bowring as Editor, James and John Mill, Fonblanque, Coul-

son, Fox, Roebuck, Colonel Thompson, Sidney Smith, Tooke, jun., Grote, and a band of intrepid Reformers established the Westminster Review. Its appearance created a new epoch in the history of Liberalism. It laid bare the sophisms of both Whig and Tory, and held up the well-being of the whole people as the object of all honest and virtuous political contention. It brought wit and wisdom, science and learning, into the Radical field. It exhibited, for the first time, a body of Radical politicians, compromised by no party engagements, and wanting nothing to make them influential, but union in the service and success of the cause of truth and freedom. Great individual power (we may refer especially to the noble labours of Mr. Leigh Hunt, as editor of the Examiner), had been exhibited before, on behalf of Radicalism and the Radicals; but from the moment that the Westminster Review with its association of power, appeared, no man has ventured to speak scornfully of the Radical party, or to repeat the reproaches of ignorance and vulgarity which the old Tories, in their pride, and the old Whigs, in their fear or jealousy, had been accustomed to fling on the more courageous advocates of reform.

The Reform Bill having passed, Dr. Bowring, with others who had long and ably advocated its paramount necessity, was called on by more than one constituency to take upon himself the responsible duties of a representative. A considerable majority of the electors of Blackburn signed a requisition to him, but by the profligate corruption of his opponents, he failed by a very small number of votes. He received, however, a handsome service of plate from the people, as a testimony of their regard, and at the election of 1835 he again presented himself, at the request of the reforming party, and was again defeated by a few votes. The Burghs of the Clyde, however, returned him, without canvassing a single elector, by a majority of 237 over the Whig, and 367 over the Tory candidate. The same Burghs in 1837 rejected him by a majority of 71, the principal causes being the "No Popery" cry—the supposed heterodoxy of his religious opinions—the part he had taken in the discussions on Sir Andrew Agnew's Sabbath Bills and clauses—and finally, the opposition of Port Glasgow to free trade principles, from its connection with the Canadian monopoly.

It may be supposed that such a man was no idler in Parliament. During the too brief period of his membership, he surpassed all the Scotch members for regular attendance, and his votes were invariably of a Radical cast. He pithily stated, in an address to his constituents, that he had never voted *against* the Whigs except when the Whigs had voted *with* the Tories. He spoke often in the House, generally with effect, but never at great length. By the reports, it would appear, that the longest speeches he made were on the subject of Boards of Trade, in fixing a minimum price of labour, and on the improvements required in the various financial departments, especially with reference to a more satisfactory manner of keeping the public accounts. He was chairman of two important committees, that on the accounts of the colonies and that on public petitions, and took a very active part in the committee on the distress of the hand-loom weavers, that on Irish education, and that on the state of the arts as applied to the manufactures of the country. He was also a member of the Speaker's committee, to which the publication of all parliamentary returns is referred, of the committee for examining into the offices of the House of Commons, and of that of public documents. He sat also on the committee on the British Museum, and the record commission, as well as on General Darling's committee, where he, Col. Thompson, and Mr. Wilks made a vain struggle to throw open the doors of the committee to the public, but the Tory members invariably moved that the room should be cleared of strangers.

Dr. Bowring has received many marks of distinction from European sovereigns; amongst them, a diamond ring from the Emperor of Russia, for his translations; a gold medal with a laudatory inscription, from the King of Holland, in honour of his publications on Dutch literature; and he was made a Knight of the Order of Christ, by the Queen of Portugal. He has been, and continues to be, on terms of intimacy and correspondence with the leading literary and political characters of modern times.

He is the author of several works written in other languages than his own. He carried on a controversy in Spanish, with Don Deonardo O'Gavan, the deputy of the Havana, on the Slave Trade, for which he received the thanks of the African Association. His Letters on Holland have been translated into Dutch, and his Matins

and Vespers, Russian Anthology, and other of his writings, have been reprinted in the United States. Bowring received his degree of doctor of laws and philosophy from Groningen. He is a member of the Institute of the Netherlands, of the Asiatic Societies of Paris and London, of the Royal Societies of Bavaria and Hungary, and of numerous other scientific and literary associations in various parts of Europe. The last publications of Dr. Bowring are two volumes, entitled *Minor Morals*, illustrated by tales and travels, intended for the use of the young. His *Popular Songs*, and his *Bohemian and Hungarian Anthology*, were the first attempts to make the English public acquainted with the poetry of those nations.

We can bear no higher testimony to the attainments and the character of Dr. Bowring, than by simply stating a fact that "speaks volumes;" he was the bosom friend of Jeremy Bentham. The relation between them is described to us as having been as close and confidential as that of father and son: indeed, by the latter name, the great utilitarian philosopher was wont to call his favourite disciple. During many years their intercourse, both epistolary and personal, was very frequent, not to say uninterrupted. Dr. B., who was the sole executor of Bentham, was charged with the publication of a complete edition of his works; this is now in the press, and we are informed that he is also preparing a biography of Bentham. While the philosopher lived, in that seclusion from the world which he himself called his "hermit existence," Bowring was the best and surest channel of access to him, and was frequently the cause of bringing his illustrious friend into contact with the most interesting persons of the age. In fact, the latter years of Bentham's life were scarcely years of solitude; for as his fame spread, so did the desire of becoming acquainted with his person, and his habits were so changed that he seldom dined alone, although more than one visitor at a time was rarely admitted to his table.

What political reformer, what labourer in the delightful fields of scholarship and literature, could desire a fairer "letter of recommendation" to another age, than his long and intimate association with such a man?

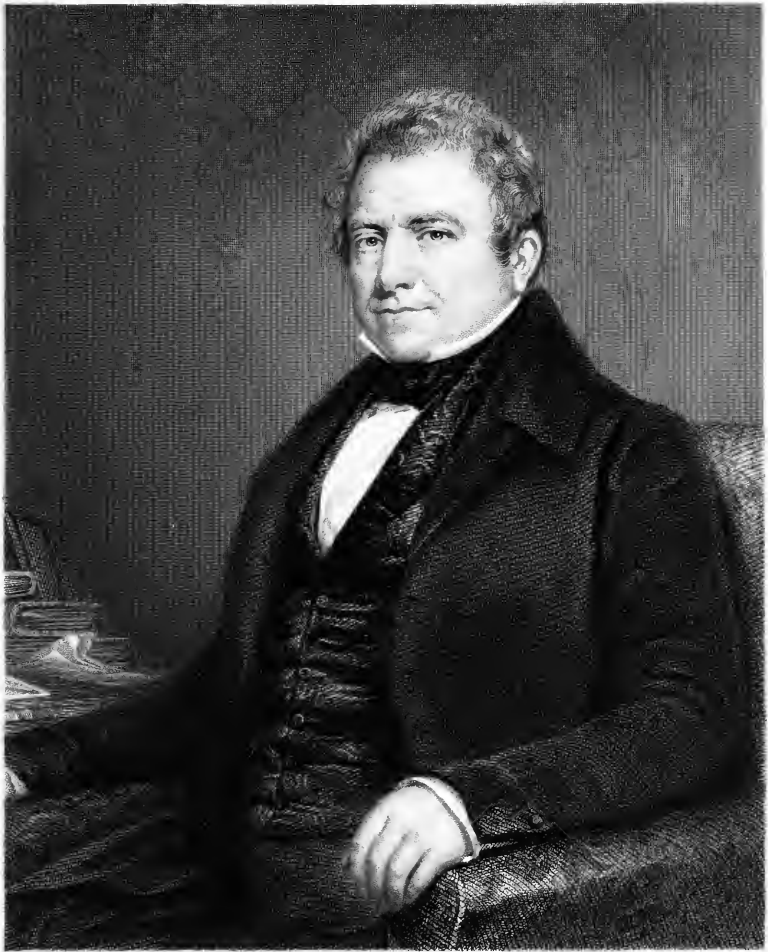
JOSEPH HUME, Esq. M. P.

JOSEPH HUME appears to have been sent into the world not so much for the purpose of rendering service by exposing abuses in state and church, and enforcing economy in the public expenditure, as of teaching mankind an extraordinary lesson of industry and perseverance.

There are not many such examples to be adduced in the history of the country, and the parliamentary annals contain not one. If the moderns observed the ancient practice of bestowing characteristic titles—"the Good," "the Just"—upon public benefactors, Mr. Hume's descriptive surname would be "the Indefatigable." Night after night, sitting after sitting, session after session, year after year, he is the same. Nelson, when a child, told his grandmother that he had never seen Fear; Hume, at sixty years of age, can probably say, with as much truth, that he has never known Fatigue.

If the Tories had power to doom him to some perpetual punishment for the pertinacity with which he has worried them in this life, it would by no means answer their purpose to subject him to the discipline of *Sisyphus*. To pass an eternity in rolling up-hill a stone that rolled down upon him the next minute would be no punishment to Joseph Hume. He would return to the task with undiminished energy. But the scheme would not succeed if put into practice against him. Whether the Fates willed it so or not, he would contrive, on some fine evening while parliament was sitting, to fix the stone at the top, or roll it over on the other side, in spite of all decrees to the contrary.

To tire him is impossible, and to baffle him effectually and finally, is next to impossible. A repulse is thrown away upon him; he returns to the charge unconscious of it. He looks upon obstacles as impertinences in his way—things that only deserve to be treated



SCOTLAND: W. H. H. H.

Joseph Hume

1751-1835

with indifference or contempt. What men generally agree to regard as positive impediments to an enterprise, he considers to be positive superfluities, the existence of which he cannot understand, feeling conscious that he could get on just as well without them as with them. He is never deterred by difficulties, never daunted by ill-success, never ashamed to repeat for the hundredth time a proposition which a large majority has declared to be unreasonable, never weary of details nor perplexed by conflicting views, and never moved a hair's-breadth from his course by insult, ridicule, or revilings.

Laugh at his statements and dismiss his motion with disdain—he is up again with another string of figures that lead to the same proof, and re-demands an inquiry as though it had never been and could not possibly be refused. From the assured and easy manner in which he used to repeat his proposition for reduction, or exposition of abuses, a stranger would have concluded that he was making it for the first time and knew that it would be successful. His temper is imperturbable, and his observation more vigilant the longer it is on the watch. Once let him “get scent” of an abuse, and he will never leave it until he has “ferreted it out;” once let him conceive the idea that even a score or two of soldiers may be dispensed with, or a mere door-keeper's salary saved, and you will never find him parting with it until the object is attained. In like manner, if he can only arm himself with a handful of necessary documents, no intrigue or manœuvre, save that of preventing a house being formed, could deter him from bringing forward his motion; and however turbulent and overwhelming the opposition, defeating him by crushing majorities nineteen times in the evening, he will still work out his project, and rise at three in the morning with his twentieth proposition on a point of retrenchment and economy.

What set of ministers, however born in corruption and bred in habits of concealment, could continue for ever to refuse all inquiry, when urged with such pertinacity and stubbornness! “Ministers,” as Lord John Russell once truly remarked, “are but men;” and how should ministerial man hold out always against such superhuman proficiency in the science of dunning! Never did the people produce such a dun as Mr. Hume. He knocked at the door of the obstinate debtor early and late—or rather it was one continual rap. It was

not so much a quick succession of knocks, as an incessant knocking for a series of years. The many re-appearances of Monsieur Tonson afford not the least idea of the inexplicable "come again" of Mr. Hume. He was so often on his legs in one night, that it appeared doubtful whether he had really time to sit down between the motions. It was supposed for a long period, by persons of a superior order of sagacity, that Mr. Hume afforded an instance of the exemption of the human frame from the necessity of sleep; it began to be currently believed that he never slept at all, or at least, never closed more than one eye at a time. This delusion, however, was effectually destroyed a few months ago, when the then member for Middlesex was fairly "caught napping" in his place in Parliament. Sir Robert Peel, who was addressing the house at the time, pointed out the unparalleled occurrence to the notice of the world. The slumberer, being aroused, replied to the taunt of Sir Robert, "How can I help it, if you *will* spin out such an argument into a speech two hours long?" We only refer to this incident with a view of establishing the fact that Mr. Hume is not entirely free from the influence of natural wants, though his moral perseverance enables him to resist them to a degree that approaches the marvellous.

Other people are, of course, much sooner wearied than the subject of our memoir; we had better, therefore, at once proceed to lay before the reader such particulars of his life as we have been able to collect. These, though somewhat scanty, are sufficient to furnish an outline of his career. They are principally derived from a memoir which was published in Scotland some years ago, by a school-fellow of Mr. Hume's.

Joseph Hume was born in Montrose, in the year 1777. He was still young, when his father, who was the master, or captain, of a trading vessel of that port, died, leaving a numerous family to the charge of his widow. Mrs. Hume is described as a person of extraordinary perseverance, energy, and self-dependent habits. By the business of a shop, which a small capital was sufficient to carry on, she enabled herself to bring up her children in credit and comfort; giving to each an education not inferior to that usually attained in the middle ranks of life in such places as Montrose; but it was the influence of her own example, her precepts, and her character, that fed,

matured, and perfected those striking qualities that have since rendered her son a popular performer on the great political stage of the times, and won for him the regard and gratitude of so many of his countrymen.

The schools of his native town were the boundary of his fields of knowledge. His original education consisted simply of reading, writing, accounts, and an elementary knowledge of Latin; and with these scanty stores, being intended for the medical profession, he was apprenticed to a surgeon in Montrose, with whom he served for three years. During 1793 and the two following years, he attended the medical classes in the University of Edinburgh, and was then admitted a member of the College of Surgeons in that city. In 1796 he made a voyage to India; and after the lapse of a twelvemonth, having duly attended the hospitals, he was admitted a member of the London College of Surgeons.

With an experience derived from practice during a considerable period in the medical department of the East India Company's Naval Service, Mr. Hume proceeded in 1799 to Bengal, being placed on the medical establishment under that presidency. Here his energies had scope for operation. Observing that few of the Company's servants submitted themselves to the labour of acquiring the native languages, and perceiving too how materially a knowledge of the dialects of the country would add to his chances of utility and his prospects of rising in the world, Mr. Hume immediately applied himself, with characteristic assiduity, to effect the desirable acquisition. Early habits of looking to labour as the foundation of his fortunes, rendered that which was drudgery to others an agreeable occupation to him.

In 1803, when the Company's army took the field in the war with the Mahrattas, Mr. Hume was attached to that division which, under the command of Major General Powell, marched from Allahabad into Bundelcund. His foresight and industry in the acquisition of the native dialects were now rewarded; an interpreter being required for the assistance of the commanding officer, Hume was selected. He contrived to continue his medical duties, and to fill, besides, the offices of paymaster and postmaster of the troops—trusts that could only be efficiently discharged by one capable of holding direct com-

munication with the natives. Other duties of a profitable nature were occasionally confided to him; and during the whole time the army was in the field, his extraordinary powers of application, and apparently natural taste for labour, enabled him to unite, in his own person, a variety of offices, to which not merely honours, but considerable emoluments were attached.

Peace was concluded in the year 1807-8, and Mr. Hume returned to the presidency. His private affairs, which by this time, in a pecuniary sense, were flourishing, soon after called him to England.

Arrived in his native country, with some of the objects of his ambition already achieved, he began to experience a sense of the defects of an early interrupted education, which, it may easily be supposed, incessant occupation and professional studies had left him no leisure to repair. Now, however, another species of "golden opportunity" presented itself; his course was at once decided upon, and he devoted himself to the cultivation of his mind, and the acquisition of knowledge, with all the ardour and activity which had characterised his pursuit of fortune, and his search after professional experience.—But it was not books only of which he contemplated the study. Those who know anything of Mr. Hume, know well his innate fondness for "facts." He resolved to see and judge for himself, on many points of vital interest to a mind constituted like his; accordingly in the following year (in 1809) he determined upon making a tour of minute observation throughout the United Kingdom, and actually visited every place of manufacturing celebrity in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The information thus acquired only stimulated his curiosity, and confirmed his habits of mind in favour of fact-hunting. He, therefore, devoted the greater portion of the years 1810 and 1811 to travels of observation in Spain and Portugal, in Turkey, Greece, Egypt, the Ionian Islands, Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, &c.

He was now, by the temper of his mind, the extent of his experience and information, and the solidity of his fortunes in the world, qualified to fill, with effect, a seat in the legislature of his country, which had, for some time past, it is probable, been the guiding-star of his course. On his return to England, the seat for Weymouth being rendered vacant by the death of Sir John Johnstone, Mr. Hume was

elected for that borough, and sat in Parliament during the session of 1812.

The new member appears to have lost little time, upon entering into this new sphere for his activity. He took a decided part in opposition—not to the Tory Government, for that he supported—but to the most important measure that engaged the consideration of Parliament during that session, *viz.*, the Frame-work Knitters' Bill. This measure, vehemently called for by the workmen of Nottingham and Leicester, was founded on an unjust principle; it would have had the effect of fettering the hands of the master, as the masters, through the medium of the combination laws, fettered the hands of the workman. Mr. Hume, who, long afterwards, effected the repeal of these laws, signalled himself by his opposition to the workmen's bill; and, young as he was in parliamentary life, he received the thanks of the manufacturers for his services.

We have said that Mr. Hume, on his first entrance into parliament, supported the Tory Administration. On referring to the debates of the period, we do not observe any noticeable examples of this; but the fact is acknowledged. We shall here, in place of any judgment of our own upon the early Toryism of our Radical Reformer, quote his school-fellow's explanation of the matter, which seems perfectly fair.

“Mr. Hume, having arrived from India with strong impressions in favour of the government as it stood, and as it was administered, and against all those who found in it any thing to blame, took his seat on the Ministerial side of the house; but as he was a man who did not shut his eyes, or resist conviction, his opinions and proceedings, in the active part which he took in commercial questions, gave so little satisfaction, that the trustees of Sir John Johnstone declined to return him for the new parliament; and, according to report, forgot engagements into which they had entered. It comes within our knowledge, that seats more than one were at the acceptance of Mr. Hume, at the general election in 1812, could he have submitted to the engagements customary on such occasions. Resolving to be independent, he declined them.”

Mr. Hume's first career in parliament was thus of brief duration; and it is perhaps well for him that it was. His prejudices in favour of government-perfection might have been fostered, and his better judgment checked in its growth until too late for bearing fruit; he might have been held in by the trammels of party, and become the

victim of mere habit. It is not easy to speculate precisely on the consequences, had the same unwearied zeal and unyielding firmness, with which Mr. Hume has so long applied himself to the exposure of abuses, been devoted to the concealment and justification of them.

His sphere of utility was wider out of doors. Great projects, unconnected with party politics, were then in a course of advancement; and several extensive plans of social amelioration afforded to a mind like Mr. Hume's ample sources of interest, and abundant scope for beneficial endeavour. Those, for example, who were exerting themselves in multiplying Lancasterian schools, found in Mr. Hume an assiduous and practical co-operator. He was long a member of a central committee to effect this excellent work. He also evinced his regard for the interest of the working classes, by being among the first to promote a scheme, which, promising them benefits by savings, held out motives to effect them. The plan for savings-banks which was subsequently adopted, was early recommended in a pamphlet by Mr. Hume.

The Court of East India Proprietors also offered to him an appropriate arena for the advocacy of liberal and enlightened principles, and each succeeding contest there only served to instil into him an enmity towards a corrupt and narrow policy, whatever form it might assume. That which he held to be right he held firmly to, unmoved by a majority overwhelming in its number, and uncompromising in its resentment. So early as 1813, he stood alone, contending in the court of proprietors for freedom of trade against the united upholders of monopoly.

Six years were thus actively passed; when, at the general election in 1818, Mr. Hume was again returned to parliament; being chosen by his native town of Montrose, and two others of the five towns composing that district of burghs. He was re-elected in the following year, after the severest struggle, perhaps, which the people of that district had witnessed.

From this period Mr. Hume has pursued one uniform and untiring course. He has never been, for a single week, out of the public sight; and the character, extent, and variety of the reforms which he has proposed and effected are known to every one who has devoted

even a cursory attention to the proceedings of parliament. Yet, strange as it may sound, here, where our Reformer's character is most fully developed, and where his fittest range of action begins, the facility of the biographer's task ends, and the difficulty of drawing an outline commences. The perplexity is created not by a deficiency, but by a multiplicity of events. It is easy, under ordinary circumstances, to describe the course of a member's conduct during the session—to state the principles he maintained, the points he mooted, the motions he brought forward, and the ends he accomplished or advanced. But this is impossible in Mr. Hume's case, except by examining page by page the parliamentary register of many a year's proceedings, and swelling the list of his public sayings and doings into a formidable folio volume. As the mind's eye glances at the catalogue, it at once perceives the impracticability of compressing so many performances into so narrow a chronicle. Fielding's philosopher, who conceived the glorious design of carving a Homeric battle on the small knob of his walking-stick, reconciled himself to the necessity of omitting all the figures for want of room. We are under the same necessity with respect to Mr. Hume's "figures"—his figures arithmetical—for of the rhetorical he has few or none. His motions are no more, individually, to be included within the space of our record, than were the movements of the Greek and Trojan multitudes capable of being illustrated on that insufficient surface. Mr. Hume may undoubtedly claim the merit of having, during a period of twenty years, in which he has retained a seat in the house, been more uninterruptedly active than any other member in it. The leader of the assembly for the time being may have risen as often and made longer speeches; but he has been respited after a season, and has found repose on another bench. Mr. Hume's duty, voluntarily imposed upon himself, has been continuous. Under every administration, his labours have been renewed. No change has brought change to him, in the matter of attendance and exertion; nor can we conceive it possible for him to survive that day (not very likely to dawn at present) in which, having ransacked the deepest drawer of his desk for parliamentary documents, he should find himself left without an abuse to investigate, or a grievance to be redressed!

That this, to him, essential store is decreasing, slowly as Reform

proceeds, is sufficiently palpable, if we refer in general terms to the subjects upon which Mr. Hume has bestowed the largest portion of his energies since his election in 1818. Financial matters have always been his favourites. With these he began his career as a Reformer. During several sessions, after his second return to parliament, he never failed to show, when occasion served, that the financial accounts of the government, as laid before the house, were imperfect, and that frauds, to an immense amount, might be committed without the possibility of detection. His supporters were few, but even in those days of Tory ascendancy, they increased—perhaps at the rate of one a year—and ridiculous as the minority upon matters of retrenchment and financial investigation appeared, there was no resisting its regular and well-directed assaults. In 1822, Mr. Hume was mainly instrumental in obtaining a select committee of the House of Commons on the public accounts; and on the 31st of July, in that year, the committee made its report. Ministers were therein compelled to admit that “the then form of the accounts neither did nor could exhibit any balance between the income and the expenditure;” and that “no true balance could be struck between the income and expenditure.” Such had long been the mode of making up the annual national finance statement! Thus, as it has been lately observed, “during the whole of the war with France, from 1793 to 1815, when in one single year upwards of a hundred millions of money were raised, and in every preceding and succeeding year to 1822, *no balance* was ever brought forward, and consequently, whatever the balance might be at the disposal of ministers, whether it amounted to five shillings or five millions of pounds sterling, no subsequent account was ever given to parliament, showing how any part of it was disposed of.” From the date of this report the annual finance accounts have been more fairly framed, the balances being stated and carried forward to the next year’s account. To Mr. Hume’s incessant exertions may in a great measure be attributed the overthrow of the sinking-fund system, a scheme which had increased the debt instead of reducing it, which was little better than a state fraud, and had long deluded the country. His exertions in regard to financial affairs, to retrenchment and reduction generally, to pensions, sinecures, and salaries, are said by his friends to have realised a saving

to the country of “two millions a year in peace, and five millions a year in war !”

Supposing the saving to fall far short of this, the reduction is not to be despised, and the exquisite wit that rejoices in ridiculing “three farthing reforms” is clearly thrown away. But the value of Mr. Hume’s services in this respect is not to be tested by the amount of money saved. It is in a moral sense that these reductions are to be regarded, and, in this sense, they are invaluable. Where ought we to expect examples of probity among a people oppressed by heavy burdens, if the state itself set an example of dishonesty ? It is difficult to say what saving, in the present constitution of society, would be actually felt by the industrious producers of wealth ; but the correction of a single item in the public accounts of a great nation, and the saving of even an insignificant sum, if effected upon principles of justice and integrity, cannot be without a sensible moral influence upon society.

To set forth what Mr. Hume has been instrumental in effecting, either completely or partially, we have but to enumerate the leading measures for which he has perseveringly struggled. These include the projects already adverted to, with propositions affecting the army, navy, and ordnance, many of which have been adopted ; the reform of the ecclesiastical courts and the criminal law ; the abolition of military flogging, naval impressment, and imprisonment for debt ; reform in the church, Irish and English ; the repeal of the combination laws, and of the act withholding from working-men the right of going abroad ; the arbitration-bill for workmen and masters, and free trade in every branch of industry. He has exerted himself greatly on the subjects of the taxes on knowledge, colonial abuses, a county-rates bill, election expenses, and the fraudulent lighthouse system. His advocacy of Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill was conspicuous ; and his share of the honour of destroying the odious Orange-lodge system, and detecting the Cumberland conspiracy, is a large and memorable one. Mr. Hume has, during all this time, been generally active out of doors, when political assemblies of the people required his presence and advice.

All these labours have been explicitly acknowledged by the popularity to which they led. Honours more than can be enumerated

have been paid to him. The cities of London, Edinburgh, Gloucester, and several others, have presented him with their freedom. Addresses and votes of thanks from many counties have expressed the public opinion of his assiduity and disinterestedness. We must not pass over his election, in 1824, and re-election in the following year, to the Lord Rectorship of the University and Marischal College of Aberdeen. The spirit in which he filled that office was, we believe, advantageous to the University, and favourable to the advancement of education in Scotland.

Another distinguished honour was paid to him by the electors of Middlesex in 1830, in returning him to parliament as their representative. Re-elected for the metropolitan county, the rage of the Tories exceeded its ordinary bounds, and kindled them to exertions in the registration courts, which were too much disregarded by the Liberals. Although the number of his supporters had increased, Mr. Hume was unseated, by a small majority, at the election in August last, but was elected for the city of Kilkenny the instant the news of his defeat reached Ireland. He has the honour of being more cordially hated by the Tories than any man living, with the sole exception of Mr. O'Connell.

This real hatred is largely mingled with an affected contempt. Ridicule is the weapon with which, notwithstanding the proved dulness of its edge, they still strive to wound Mr. Hume. They shew their teeth through the medium of a sneer; and while they denounce him as a most dangerous plotter, they declare him to be a fool too notorious to be dreaded! It is true that Mr. Hume's intellectual conformation is not of the highest caste; he has no quality of mind that can identify his powers with the great accomplishments of statesmanship; he wants grasp, concentration, comprehensiveness, even clearness of perception sometimes. But it must be borne in mind, that had he been more greatly gifted in these great respects, he would have been unfitted for doing what he has successfully done. He has "laboured in his vocation," and has "fulfilled his destiny." It must be also recollected, that if he be destitute of the loftier and more original powers of mind, he makes no pretension to the possession of them. He seeks to be thought only what he really is. He professes not to be a discoverer of new truths, but a reviver of old ones; truisms, com-

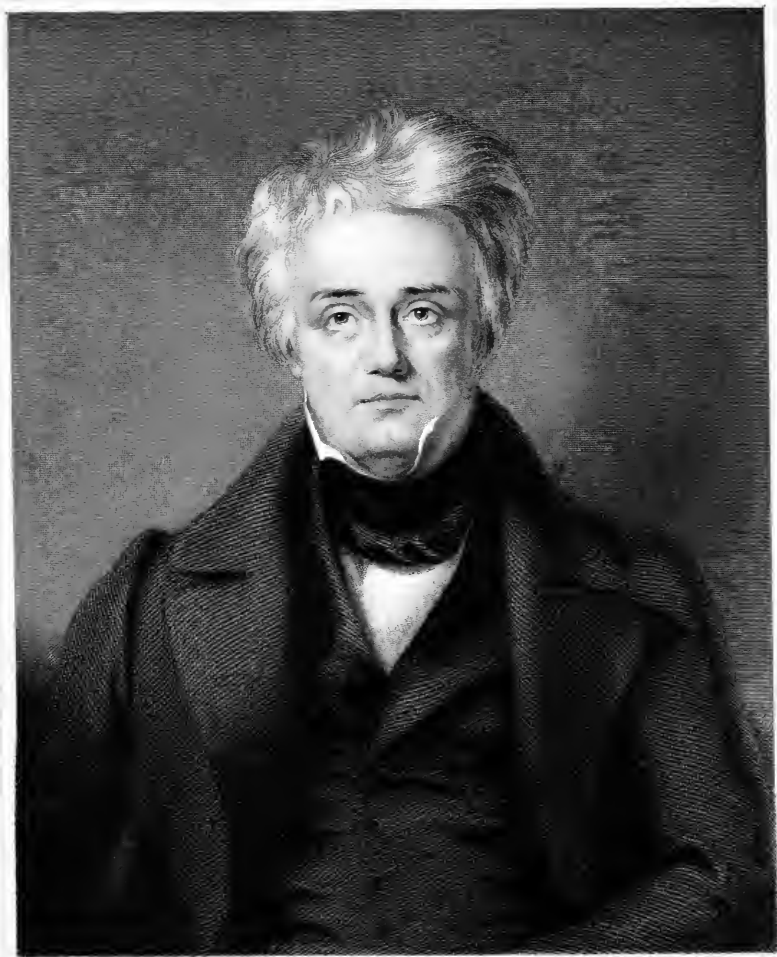
monplaces they may be—but it is because they are so, that we must hold them to be most worthy of his search and labour.

Our closing remark may seem to be a severe one. While heartily admiring what Mr. Hume has done, we are not aware of anything ever said by him that has a chance of being remembered, except some few words that ought never to have been said at all. We refer, as a striking example, to the declaration which he made, during the discussion upon the Russian Dutch loan in 1832—that he would vote “black to be white,” rather than risk the existence of the then ministry. This is quoted against him by the Tories three hundred and sixty-five times in a year, and we must say not once too often. Upon the charges brought against him, in regard to the Greek loan affair, as we have no positive evidence, we offer no opinion. But his parliamentary declaration, confirmed by the vote which followed it, struck a blow at his reputation for integrity, which no man’s good name could have survived, who had not, as Mr. Hume undeniably has, rested his pretensions to fame upon a series of public services, performed without hope of any other reward, and effected with remarkable constancy of purpose.

LIEUT.-COL. T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

THE life of the subject of this memoir presents a more varied scene than those of most of his fellow-labourers in the popular cause ; and there may be interest in tracing the steps by which he was brought to his present position among them.

He was born at Hull, in March 1783, the eldest son of the late Thomas Thompson, Esq., of that town, banker, local preacher among the Methodists, and for several years member for Midhurst. His mother also was of high Methodist connexion, being the granddaughter of the Rev. Vincent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham in Kent, one of the few clergymen of the church of England who joined the celebrated John Wesley at the commencement of his mission ; and as in consequence of the early death of their father the family lived in the house of the grandfather, the position might be considered as equivalent to that of daughter. The subject of this account received his early education at the grammar school at Hull, then in a state of high repute under the direction of the Rev. Joseph Milner, the author of the " Ecclesiastical History," a bitter Tory both in temporals and spirituals, and who spared no pains to send his pupils into the world imbued with the highest spirit of orthodoxy, political and religious, which could be sublimed from the stores of ancient literature. His parents also were among the first who took alarm at the invasions on the established order of things, which were the threatened consequences of the French revolution ; so that as far as early impressions could go, he may be said to have been sent into the world a Tory at all points, a veritable *Alexandrus ab Alexandro*, prepared to perpetuate the opinions of his predecessors. In October, 1798, he made his appearance as a pensioner at Queen's College, Cambridge ; and the bedmaker still lives, who stopped him on his way to chapel without a neckcloth, in consequence of his not having acquired the habit of



D. Bennett Thompson

Engraved by J. G. Thompson

enduring that appendage of riper years, and who declares he “was one of the littlest gentlemen she ever did see.” In spite of this, however, he in due time took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (Jan. 1802), with the honour of Seventh Wrangler; no bad start in life for a boy under nineteen, as many disappointed parents can testify. For this consummation he was greatly indebted to the assistance of decidedly the most eminent character in the University of that day, Milner, Dean of Carlisle, the president of his college, and brother of his ancient pastor and master at Hull; an advantage which can only be duly appreciated, by those who know how far the office of president is separated from anything like the obligation to teach. Of this extraordinary individual,—a man whom it was to the discredit of the Church not to have advanced, and whose advancement was probably prevented only by a doubt whether his vigour of mind was compatible with a perfectly sincere entertainment of the principles expected to be professed,—he has been heard to state his impression, that he was incomparably before all the individuals with whom it was ever his chance to be in any degree personally acquainted, in clearness of understanding and the power of subjecting others to his mental superiority,—a kind of Napoleon cabin’d in a deanery,—a master, of whom his pupil would be proud to win the right to say,

Εχω γαρ ἂ ᾿χω δια σε, κ’ ἔκ αλλων βροτων.

But while this was going on externally, other things were working very hostilely within. He had always apprehended that his father destined him to the mysteries of finance, while his mother’s leanings were towards seeing him lift his head in a pulpit, which she naturally enough considered as the height of human elevation; but neither of these were to the taste of the individual who thought himself most intimately concerned. The education of a youthful Methodist, in those days, contained the seeds of very different and possibly unexpected feelings. Next after the histories of Joshua and Maccabæus, his earliest acquaintance was with the works of that good soldier of foot, who spiritualized his experience in the Civil Wars, and conducted his “Pilgrim” to heaven, *sur le ventre* of Apollyon in person. The deepest regret of the infant student, was that so little light had been thrown either in the text

or the explanatory plates, on the form of that redoubtable weapon "called All-prayer;" and he rose prepared to search in Grose or any other source the subscription library might supply, for all the information on the weaponry of the olden day, which might tend to illuminate his darkness. With this must be joined the incessant avowal on the part of elders and superiors, of admiration for those who in all time had undergone sufferings or exerted energies for the maintenance of principle; and most of all, the *esoteric* doctrine, the domestic secret, inserted at those hours and from those sources which leave the deepest impression on the mind of childhood, that the touch of religious oppression cancelled civil obligation, and the moment success was feasible, resistance was glory here and heaven hereafter. Add to all this, that the Methodists at that time presented some of the latest specimens, of the men who primed and loaded for conscience sake, and pushed with the bayonet, as the Jewish prophet with his horns of iron, under the conviction of divine direction and support. Their great leader Wesley, was a stout supporter of the Revolution of 1688; and the consequence was that he maintained something like an *imperium in imperio* in the army in Flanders, and that the Methodists had a perfect martyrology, of bold dragoons who when they lost the right arm refused to go to the rear while they had another left to hold their sword, and valiant brethren of "the train," who when both legs were smitten off by a cannon shot, begged to be laid upon a gun to die, that with their last breath they might exhort their comrades "to fight knee-deep in blood, for God and the House of Hanover." These men will have their fame; and though they are long since gone to the land, where it may be that human animosities are viewed with pity and they have shaken hands with their equally brave opponents of the "Irish Brigade," it is nothing wonderful that a youth brought up in the familiar contemplation of such scenes, at a period too when great efforts were made to represent the existing conflict with France as something like the renewal of a holy war, should find himself drawn out into a preference of the camp to either the high stool or the reading-desk.

A modification, however, was enforced on his ambition. The army at that period, however praiseworthy the direction of its operations

in the field, was a word of opprobrium in the mouths of decent persons, for a vaunted and daring immorality, which certainly has no counterpart at the present time. It was the unshaken belief of respectable people in that day, that it was useless for a young man to attempt staying in the army, who was not rapidly qualifying himself as a four-bottle man; and that in one distinguished regiment, the *accolade* on the reception of a new officer, consisted in his making an exhibition upon the regimental colours in presence of the assembled officers, which it would be utterly inconsistent with modern manners to describe. But in the navy the case was different. An officer of high rank and distinguished courage, appeared to be bent on restoring the seamen of the navy to something like the manners which were familiar to them before they were subjected to their share in the degradation of the Restoration; and it so happened, that this very officer was within the compass of the young man's friends. The connexion between the naval service and his mathematical knowledge, also had its weight; and after making a kind of experimental voyage in a vessel out of the port of Hull, in which six weeks beating in wintry weather in sight of Cape de Gatt failed to impress him with distaste for the sea, in the beginning of 1803 he sailed as a midshipman in the *Isis* of 50 guns, the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral (afterwards Lord) Gambier on the Newfoundland station.* In June the Vice-Admiral proceeded to Newfoundland, the war being then declared. Several prizes were made in the mouth of the Channel, and into one of them, a recaptured West India-man, our midshipman was put, with a crew of nearly as many nations as there were indi-

* As the time for sailing for Newfoundland was not till June, the ship was temporarily made the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Thornborough on the North-Sea Station; in consequence of which the midshipman witnessed the visitation of the Dutch Admiral Hartsink, who was going out to take the command in Java. It was believed in the British ships, that there was to be a seizure *à la Copenhagen*; or that the Dutch admiral, though not at war, was to be taken lest he should be by-and-by. And this was confirmed by seeing the Dutch frigate and the advanced English one which first ran up to it, enveloped in smoke. On exchanging signals, it appeared they were only saluting; and the admiral's ship coming up, saluted by pouring her double-shotted guns on each side into the sea. On what this change of a broadside into a salute might "hinge," it was not for a midshipman to say.

viduals on board, to take her to Newfoundland; where she arrived, the only one that had stuck by the sloop-of-war left for convoy, through those foggy latitudes.*

On returning home for the winter, the ship was put on the Downs or Boulogne station, and sent again the ensuing summer to Newfoundland with the new governor, Sir Erasmus Gower. On the passage home, the ship strained so much as to produce an illustration of what the historian of St. Paul's shipwreck probably meant by "undergirding." Hawsers were passed under the bottom, and brought in through the lower-deck scuppers, and then "hove taut," by way of helping to keep the ship (one of the oldest in the navy) together. On reaching Portsmouth, the followers of Admiral Gambier were removed to the Pomone frigate, leaving the Isis under the command of Capt. Ommanney, (believed the present admiral on the Lisbon station,) to whom the subject of the memoir was under much obligation, for kindness more strongly felt as his maturer years made him more sensible of its value.

* As the character of the noble Admiral is now matter of history, and his religious peculiarities made him a marked man, it is but justice in one of his old followers to declare so much of him as he knew. On board his ship he was of very reserved habits; his position as Admiral, which left him as free from occupation as a passenger, giving him full scope for his humour. In dress he was disposed to be singular, having an affection for an antiquated fashion of costume, and particularly for a little triangular hat, which he impressed upon his officers, and to which he attributed virtues unknown. His most usual exhibition of himself, was walking the quarter-deck with his hands joined behind him, apparently meditating *de fugâ seculi*; and he rarely spoke to any person. On a preceding voyage to his dominion of Newfoundland, the ship was laid on its beam-ends by a squall, and expected to go down. On this occasion he is reported to have uttered the words "Cut away the mizen-mast;" and by the testimony of all present, the mizen-mast went overboard at the second blow of the axe of the chief carpenter, and the ship was saved. On the present voyage, he was near falling in with a French seventy-four, and a frigate or two in company, coming from St. Domingo; as it afterwards appeared they had crossed his track so as narrowly to miss him. On finding this out, he was understood to have said deliberately, that "the Lord was with him on the First of June, (Earl Howe's,) and he had no reason to doubt He would have been with him again." Such men were formidable adjuncts of a Tory government. In all his deportment he was rigidly, and beyond all manner of doubt sincerely, observant of what he considered as religious and moral duties; which was only met by eye-service from those about him.

In the frigate he was again on the Boulogne station ; and on returning on board one day with a boat-load of water from Dungeness, he received the information of his having been elected to a Fellowship at Queen's, a sort of promotion which has not often gone along with the rank and dignity of a midshipman. He continued on that station till June 1805. But the natural effects of his entering the navy at so late an age, began to display themselves. The navy was then in a kind of transition state, between the ancient rudeness and the improvements of modern days. He had no ill-treatment to complain of ; and he remembers with particular gratitude the respect with which a manuscript folio of mathematical and other collections was treated in the depths of the cockpit by the junior midshipmen, many of them now officers of rank in the service. But there was much that was irksome : and above all, the circumstance of being cut off as of an inferior class, from men no way superior in age, in knowledge, or in capacity for usefulness. His friends, too, had prompted him to take a commission ; which was evidence that their prejudices against the army had come down. It can therefore be no subject of surprise, that in the ensuing February (1806), he appeared among the second lieutenants of the Rifle Corps (then the 95th Regiment), where he stood next in regimental succession to an officer of high repute, just dead in command of one of the battalions, Lieut.-Colonel Eeles, with whom he is happy to record the intimacy which arose out of similarity of years and pursuits, and the affinity of a Cambridge-man's and a "Westminster's" recollections.

In this regiment he proceeded with the expedition under General Crawford, and was among the prisoners made in the convent of St. Domingo, in the attack on Buenos Ayres, on the 5th July, 1807. To the unhappy orders under which the columns entered the town, he has already borne testimony in parliament (see Debates, 10 May, 1837) with a result which will not diminish the confidence in any future statements he may make. The Spaniards behaved with great humanity, and it may be strongly doubted whether the reformed Christianity of London would have been equal to such treatment of invaders entering with such orders. After a few days' detention he was liberated under the convention which ensued.*

* He was fortunate in seeing more of the circumstances attending the expedition,

After his return to England, being at the house of Mr. Wilberforce an early friend of his father's, he sat up all night constructing a

than could have been expected in the rank he held. He happened to be the individual directed to bring into the convent of St. Domingo the two officers sent at different times by the Spaniards with flags of truce. The first was an officer of regular troops, supposed to be a Frenchman; who, after being rather roughly treated by the English commander, departed *re infectá*. The other, who presented himself some hours afterwards, was of a very different stamp. He bore a jacket of the *Patriotas Voluntarios de Buenos Ayres*, scarcely distinguishable from one of the blue jackets with scarlet facings and seams, in which the Volunteer patriotism of Great Britain was originally arrayed; but every other part of his equipment declared the citizen soldier, whom the necessities of the times had freshly removed from his counter or his warehouse. He spoke no tongue except his mother's; but he uttered the ominous words "*para evitar el derramamiento de sangre*," and wound up with "*bombas*." Colonel Birch would in all outward semblance have been a splendid militarist in comparison; and there, as by a dispensation of Providence, stood the parliamentary ridiculer of Colonel Birch and his civic soldiery, with this man face to face; and to this man he laid down his arms, and to this man he surrendered his force. The Spaniards instantly separated the officers from the soldiers, and adroitly enough contrived to keep the former in considerable alarm for their personal safety, and to employ it as the means of accelerating a convention. The young lieutenant was very near having an opportunity to take a part on this occasion. From knowing something of Spanish, he was asked to accompany a Spanish officer through the lines of the two armies, with a letter to General Whitlocke; and was in consequence introduced to General Liniers the Spanish commander, with the officer he was to accompany. He was proceeding on his mission with the Spaniard, under a full determination to make his way to General Whitlocke and tell him the danger of the prisoners was a fiction, in proof of which he was quite ready to go back,—when the scheme was interrupted by the captured general sending to desire that the Spaniard might be accompanied by a staff-officer. It has often occurred to him, that had he gone as intended, it might have changed the result of the expedition. He has never concealed his belief, that the Commander-in-chief was altogether an injured and unfortunate man; and that the mode of entering the town without flints, was considered by everybody, before the failure, as the pinnacle of military gallantry, the newest discovery in "truly British" warfare, introduced and sanctioned by the successes of Sir Charles Grey and Admiral Jervis against the French posts in the West Indies, in which General Whitlocke is believed to have borne a part. If Lord Nelson's fleet had been sunk in obeying the order to break the line at Trafalgar, he would have been subjected to precisely the same animosity, from those above him and those below. The personal bearing of the Commander-in-chief during the operations which preceded the attack, had been eminently soldier-like and popular; and not a soul, till after the failure, viewed him in any other light than that of a veteran soldier, whose boast it was that he had been everything in the army except a

scheme, combining arrangements ashore and afloat, for opening or improving the communication with the interior of Africa. The plan

drummer, arrived by a fortunate chance at an opportunity of crowning his career with a brilliant success. If he committed any fault, it was in not continuing the attack on the town after his first plan had been let down by the surrender of the troops in the convent of St. Domingo, and too lightly giving ear to the reports of their danger. If he is alive (and reports on that point are various and conflicting), he will not be grieved at this testimony from a man who began a not very fortunate military life where he ended his; and even at this hour, an act of grace and restoration would be simple though tardy justice.

On the incapacity of a man with the rank of second lieutenant to give a military opinion that will be received, it is needless to dilate. But the Master of Arts of the ripe age of twenty-four, with the advantage of thirty more years of experience that have passed over him since, may be permitted to say that he never could comprehend to this hour, why the surrender took place; and it was manifestly the key to all that followed. Not a man that he knew of was killed within the post; a few of the riflemen who fired from the walls and windows were wounded, one of them (Corporal Clark) dangerously. Of the troops that attempted to sally, a very small proportion returned unhurt, and the wounded from this source were very numerous; but *il y a fagots et fagots* between this and a necessity for giving up the post. A fortified town does not surrender because the garrison can no longer go out safely beyond the glacis. Something was said of cannon which were to force the gates of the church; the informant saw one field-piece wheeled round a corner, which fired one shot, and was then deserted. Besides this there were some guns, understood to be in a garden, which contrived to throw grape from time to time against the cupola where some riflemen were posted, and made the bells tingle, so that the informant went to the surgeon of his regiment, and suggested to him the removal of the wounded who were beneath, lest an accidental round shot should bring a bell down upon them. If bombs were in preparation, the theory of the *trois assauts* would appear to suggest, that where a place is surrendered to bombardment, the existence of the bombs should at least have been made visible to the naked eye. There was a well in the convent, for informant helped to pull a frightened monk out of it; which he further remembers by the fact, that on being taken in consequence to comfort another brother who was stated to be dying of fear, he saw in one of the cells he passed through, a "Jesuits' Newton." Food he had enough himself to hold out for forty-eight hours, and he supposes others had the same. His own immediate commanding officer (drowned a few years ago with the rank of Major-General) protested against the surrender, but shrank from the responsibility it was attempted to throw upon him. He was told that if he chose to lead the detachment out, the detachment should accompany him. The question was not of going out, but of staying in. On the left, Sir Samuel Achmuty had been entirely successful, and had carried a post, the *Retiro*, on which were a number of heavy cannon, just level with the tops of the houses in Buenos Ayres, and the fire of which

had one major fault, which was that it overlooked what had already been accomplished ; but the next day Mr. Wilberforce asked him if

would probably in twelve hours have brought the town to terms. On the right, the troops had taken possession of another building, which they held to the last, and informant saw the forty-fifth regiment, after the convention, march off with drums beating and colours flying, under the command of a major. The left column of the centre division was virtually destroyed ; and the right column of the same division threw itself, with comparatively little loss, into the church and convent of St. Domingo, where everything depended on its maintaining its ground.

The inferences from the whole, may be to show what a poor trade war is for the professional actors,—*mauvais métier*, as a Frenchwoman said in the campaign of 1814,—how liable to misconstruction, to disarrangement, to fatality, where the best concerted plans may be discomfited by the faults of others, and lead only to disgrace ;—and secondly, how far regular troops are from being exempt from mistakes and weaknesses of the most flagrant kind, and how little necessity there is for a popular force to quail before them as something impossible to cope with. In fact the defence of Buenos Ayres may be considered as having led the way to the successful defences by popular forces in the Peninsula and during the three days in Paris, and to have demonstrated (as was understood to have been a saying of the Spanish general Liniers), that one free man fighting for his freedom, is pretty much the same as another, all the world over.

The Spaniards afterwards published a long gazette, inserted it is believed in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, in which they complained bitterly of the conduct of the English in firing on their flags of truce, and of the murders committed in a village the Spanish account called *Miserere del Matador*, being the place where the Spanish army was attacked and driven in by General Crawford's advanced division, three or four days previously to the general assault. With both these facts the lieutenant had some personal acquaintance. He had been looking out of a narrow window of the convent of St. Domingo into the street below, and seeing nothing, had stepped down ; when a private of the Rifle corps (Plunkett,) moved to the same place, and immediately discharged his rifle, exclaiming, with some military additaments it is unnecessary to particularize, "I've hit him." The officer heard the feet of a horse, and on looking out saw a long Spanish cavalry sword with a white handkerchief fastened to it, lying on the ground. He has little doubt that this belonged to Don ——, who the Spanish account complained had been fired on, and shot through the thigh. The act was that of a private soldier, which there was no opportunity to prevent ; and it may be further advanced in excuse, that the Spanish flags of truce were not accompanied by the warning of a trumpet, and that in consequence of the frequency with which symbols of a desire to treat were displayed, by men eager to stop the effusion of blood where every loss on their side might be that of a father of a family, an idea had got among the soldiers, that these signals of truce were used with purpose to delude. On the subject of the murders in the village, but too much confirmation must be given. The informant arrived with the main body, the day after the action of the advanced di-

he would go out as governor to Sierra Leone. The colony had then been just transferred to the crown ; and accordingly in the spring of 1808, our lieutenant went in compliance with the offer, having previously, as was necessary, exchanged to the half-pay. It was intended that he should remain some time under the tutelage of his predecessor, to whom the government under the Crown had been conveyed by the Act of Transfer. But this his predecessor did away with, by as rapidly as possible transferring the government from his own shoulders. And here a discreditable page for human nature was opened on his view. One of the first acts of the Company's governor whom he succeeded, trusting too implicitly to the caution he presumed would have been exercised in the selection of his successor, was to put into his hands a letter signed by the Secretary of the Sierra Leone Company with his official designation, dated London, May 7th, 1807, and commencing in the following extraordinary manner,—“ You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country on the subject of African Slavery. While the Slave Trade lasted, I certainly felt very averse to the giving any direct encouragement to the purchasing Slaves with a view to the benefit of their labour for a certain given period. But *I always looked forward to the event of the Abolition as removing many objections to that System.*” And the theory was only too unhappily supported by the practice. A considerable capture of slaves having been made by a ship of war upon the coast, the commander was persuaded to believe, that nothing

vision. At night, he was told by a rifleman, that the people were killed in a house in the neighbourhood, but some children left alive. He asked the man to show the way ; but after scrambling a long time among the prickly-pear hedges in the dark, they were obliged to give up the point. The next morning he proceeded with the same man again, and was brought to what might be considered a decent small farm-house, standing by itself. On entering the principal room, the following scene presented itself. On the floor lay a mulatto man, killed by some kind of what the French call *arme blanche* ; a belt round his shoulder showed he had been one of the defensive force, and a little dog stood upon his body and tried by barking to keep off strangers, as if to say that he was the master of the house. Across the bed lay a well-dressed middle-aged mulatto woman, killed in the same way by a large incised wound in the chest ; and at one corner of the bed were five mulatto children of different ages, the eldest rocking the youngest in a hanging basket. A brother subaltern who had got to the place first, exclaimed with Macbeth, “ This is a sorry sight !” Such are the glories which regular troops are hired to win, at the expense of the defeated citizen.

could secure the apprenticing of the captured negroes as contemplated by the Abolition Act, except selling them by public sale to the inhabitants of the colony. And to the inhabitants they were accordingly sold, (under the pretence, which was never attempted to be executed, of apprenticing them afterwards,) at a price fixed by the governor, which was proved by evidence in the court of Vice-Admiralty to be equal to the full average cost price of a slave upon the coast, after the reduction in the price of the article consequent on the British Act of Abolition. The sale took place in Fort Thornton (a remarkable name), with all the interesting peculiarities attending slave sales in older colonies. Many of the slaves, as was to be expected, attempted to escape into the interior, and on being recaptured, were placed in irons in Fort Thornton aforesaid; and at the gaol delivery which the young governor undertook to make, he found among others a woman, the wife of one of the fugitives, who for accompanying her husband in his flight, was chained by the leg to a log of wood, which she carried on her shoulder, exactly in the manner produced to excite the feeling of the public against proceedings on the other side of the Atlantic. In addition to this, a native war was announced as impending, founded on the irritation of the neighbouring chiefs at seeing their own extensive slave trade destroyed (as they were led to believe) by a colony whose first operation was to establish a petty and inconsiderable slave trade for its own peculiar use. There was no time for hesitation. Of two things he must do one; either withdraw under the pressure of the acknowledged danger of meddling with a dishonest system, or push forward for the present abatement of the mischief, with the almost certainty of being abandoned by the government at home. He chose the latter. After transmitting an account of the state of things, his first proceeding was to seize the negroes for the Crown as being illegally sold within the colony, and prosecute them to condemnation in the court of Vice-Admiralty; the clumsy, but only legal provision, for liberating a captured negro under the Act of Abolition. Almost every imaginable kind of written and parole evidence was produced before the court. There were the seller, the buyer, the agent, the broker, the two-and-a-half per centage, the letters, the orders, the bills, the accounts, the receipts; and the parties implicated in the

transaction allowed judgment to go by default. The proceedings were of course forwarded in due form to the Admiralty at home; but on inquiry being subsequently made for them with a view to discussion in parliament, reply was made that they *could not be found*. His next step was to locate these Africans as free settlers, in situations where the establishment of villages would be favourable to the prevention of an attack on the colony from the native chiefs. Doubts were expressed whether the liberated Africans, after the treatment they had received, would be persuaded of the reality of their freedom, and sink quietly into the confiding denizen. But there was one receipt he never knew to fail; and that was, a militia musket and ten rounds of ball cartridge. None of them, after receiving this, entertained any theoretic doubts of the reality of their freedom; and after hugging their charter with assiduity for a week or two, they left it at home and walked about unarmed like the rest of the community. They entered into a kind of pledge for each other, not to leave the colony; and with the almost certainty of being sold as slaves by the neighbouring natives, the temptation was not very strong. They formed an efficient addition to the militia of the colony; and when a frigate came out with a new governor, some of them addressed his predecessor with the significant intimation,—“Governor, if it was a thing to fight about, that ship would not take the colony from *you*.”

The native war was soon provided against; though it kept honest militia-men out of their beds for a number of weary nights. Missives were sent to the surrounding chiefs, inviting them to come and see the justice that should be done on the colonial slave-trade; and one of the first results was the appearance of a herald *à l'antique*, armed with a silver-headed staff like a drum-major's, coming from the reputed head and general of the confederacy, with offers of peace and amity. With the exception of a few shots fired by mistake by some militia-men at a canoe,—where a man slightly wounded was according to the custom of the country duly paid for, the acceptance of which puts an end to all strife,—no war or battle's sound was heard during the young subaltern's peaceful administration, nor any execution political or municipal graced its progress, though both war and what was called “rebellion,” had had their sacrifices in that minutest of all colonies.

Another glaring evil he met, was the suppression of cultivation by withholding reasonable securities for property in land. Five-and-twenty years after the first establishment of the colony, all the grants or securities for the lands promised to the settlers were found in the possession of the governor. The consequence was, that of rice, the staple food of the inhabitants, and of which considerable sales were made by the natives before the establishment of the colony, a botanical specimen could not be procured within its boundaries. The explanation was brief. The interest of what were denominated the Company's Servants, was that the settlers should be supported by labouring on public works, which had the faculty of requiring renewal in one place as fast as finished in another, and for which they received pay in paper money exchangeable for bills on England, which paper money they laid out with the servants of the Company, who were to a man traders, in return for European articles to be exchanged with the surrounding natives for food. Under these circumstances, every grain of rice which should have been grown within the colony, would have been so much custom taken from the shops of the Company's servants. Instead of a foreign corn law, there was virtually a prohibition of home-grown corn ; so odd are the varieties of form, dishonest interest will assume. The new government re-issued the grants, and pledged itself that whoever would go forth and clear waste land, should with all practicable speed receive a substantial grant and security for the same. So great was the impulse given to clearing in consequence, that an American captain declared (but perhaps as a visitor he designed to be complimentary), that he did not recognize the place on nearing it. And certain it was, that a striking progress had been made on the surrounding hills, in varying their complexion from monotonous green, into squares and trapeziums of more business-looking brown.

But everything comes to an end, and all this was not likely to last longer than till the government at home got hold of it. A frigate was speedily despatched, to carry a successor to the enforcer of the Abolition Act upon the coast of Africa. It attacked Senegal by the way, and was lost ; but another was sent on the same ruthless errand, and arrived in safety. Of what afterwards befell the colony, the cultivation, and the cultivators, little is known but through the

medium of general report. The latest arrived governor tried to deprive his predecessor of the originals of the correspondence produced in the Vice-Admiralty Court. But his predecessor had provided against this, by previously sending them out of the colony ; and some of the most important of the receipts for slaves, he had in his boots when he took his audience of leave.

It will be asked, how men of character and undoubted good intentions in England, could in any way be bound up with illegalities like those described, in the face of their own professions and four several Acts of Parliament ? The answer is, that there is no limit to what may come to pass, when good-natured men leave their reputations to other people's keeping, and trust to smooth faces and fair tongues as guarantees for the conduct of a general concern. They lived to acknowledge the rectitude of the principle maintained against them ; and their opponent has the pleasing reminiscence, of having to the last moment of his holding office, kept at bay the "Apprenticeship" fraud, which thirty years afterwards was to carry off twenty millions from the pockets of the nation. When he ceased to be official, his strength was departed from him ; and those who know the nature of that time, and of all times, are aware that a public servant withdrawn on suspicion of honesty, had enough to do if he could hold his own. His situation was far from pleasant ; but blunt straight-forwardness carried him through. One man only stood by him ; and still lives to meet the record of his gratitude.

He returned to England in 1810, and after marrying in the interval, was replaced in the active army in 1812, by being gazetted to a lieutenancy in the Seventh Fusileers, and immediately exchanging into the Fourteenth Light Dragoons. It is scarcely necessary to say, that his experiences at Sierra Leone had shaken his confidence in Toryism, civil and religious ; and the impression was deepened by his beginning then for the first time to comprehend the military genius of the Emperor of France. The book of Jomini will be the enduring monument to the greatness of Napoleon, when statues fail ; and the book of Jomini was in this instance the instrument of conversion. To discover that the great enemy had neither horns nor a tail, but was in reality an inventor after the manner of Copernicus and Newton, and in all that makes moral character, unequivocally

superior to the average of his opponents,—was enough to clinch the nail which previous experience had driven. From that time, he may be considered as a confirmed anti-Tory; and from thence the step is not far, to being in proportion to the abilities and opportunities of the individual an active Reformer. He continued, however, to be a perfect glutton of all kinds of military reading; and the future Emperor himself, was perhaps not oftener found by the morning sun completing the collections of the night, than for many years was the habit of the subject of this memoir. But Jomini was the first that threw a ray of light on the chaotic mass; all the rest was “*belles marches*,”—“*savantes manœuvres*,”—but not a word of why. In these pursuits he was assisted by a younger brother, also a member of Queen’s College, who after rising to a company in the Sicilian Regiment, became a lieutenant and captain in the First Foot Guards, and whose early fall deprived him of a kind of second military existence. The luxurious guardsman required to be furnished with the pith and marrow of his subaltern elder’s reading; sending him books with something like the command attributed to Louis XV, “*Racontez-moi cela*.” This service the junior repaid with interest, from a fund of observation rarely equalled, joined to a faculty in which he surpassed all known individuals, the power of making the driest subject amusing by quaint and unexpected allusions.

In the autumn of 1813, the ex-governor joined the service squadrons of the Fourteenth Dragoons at Elisondo, and subsequently saw as much as could well be compressed into the time, of that *petite guerre*, which to a man born under the cold shade of aristocracy, is the most interesting part of modern war. Some old dragoons discharged on eight-pence a day, may remember that he was a careful leader of a patrol,—a good look-out on picquet,—could feel a retiring enemy, and carry off a sentry for proof, as well as another,—a great hater of punishment,—and a man of very small baggage, consisting of something like a spare shirt and an Arabic grammar. These qualities procured him to be of good consideration in the regiment, though he made no secret of being a warm Napoleonist. After the battle of Toulouse, the colonel of the regiment asked him at the head of the column, whether he still thought Napoleon would recover himself; and he was obliged to give in. During the campaign of 1814, he

was taken off regimental duty, and became a kind of *attaché* to the staff of General Fane commanding the brigade ; his business being to be ready at all calls, to take a few dragoons and execute such commissions as might be entrusted to him. To this circumstance he owed many opportunities of being actively employed, for which he could not but be thankful.*

In the course of the winter's campaign, a great misfortune befell him, in the loss of his brother, who was killed in action at the head of the light company of the First Guards, at Biarritz, near St. Jean de Luz, on the 12th of December, 1813. He had the melancholy satisfaction of covering him in his grave in the garden of the mayor of Biarritz, and of seeing his untimely fate commemorated by the muse of Amelia Opie, who on this occasion felt as a friend, as a relative, and as a poet.

On returning to England at the peace of 1814, he was promoted to the rank of captain in the 50th Foot, and with the least possible delay exchanged into the 17th Light Dragoons, then serving in India. At Sierra Leone he had been struck with the unexpected diffusion of the Arabic language in Africa, of which he had brought away several remarkable documents, but all eclipsed in point of magnitude by a letter of thirty-nine pages, purporting to be an address from the chiefs of the interior to the King of England, which was transmitted to him some time after leaving Africa. At the instigation of his brother, he had begun learning Arabic ; and on his return from France he found himself able to translate the whole of the letter of the chiefs, and transmitted a copy and translation to the Colonial Office, where doubtless they may be found by any person who can distinguish the cobwebs of 1814. A desire, therefore, of perfecting himself in the Arabic language, made a considerable portion of his inducement to

* Among other interesting occupations, he had a kind of roving commission to be always in advance, and for love or money get possession of Cassini's maps of the departments. It was not quite clear that Lord Wellington might not hang him before he heard him, if he fell in with him ; but the wishes of a general of brigade must be attended to. In this and his other trusts he was successful, and may boast of having never lost man or horse ; and when the war ceased, his general said something to him on the road to Carcassone, which from a general officer to a subaltern, could not be considered but as flattering to the receiver.

the Indian exchange. He arrived at Bombay in the middle of 1815, and went through the usual vicissitudes of a captain of Indian dragoons. In the Pindarry campaign, he had charge of the outposts of the force under the command of Sir William Keir Grant; and on that officer's taking the command in 1819, of the expedition against the Wahabees of the Persian gulf, he accompanied him in the office of Arabic interpreter. In this capacity he assisted at the reduction of Râs ul Khyma, and other places on the coast, and had a prominent part in negotiating the treaty with the defeated tribes, the most remarkable article in which was the declaring the Slave Trade to be piracy; the earliest declaration to that effect in point of time, though the American one reached England first. He had here to conduct an extensive Arabic correspondence; and found his early familiarity with the oriental style of the Old Testament, seriously useful. When the main body of the expedition returned to Bombay, he was left in charge of the stronghold of Râs ul Khyma, (which had been abandoned by its Arab population,) with eleven hundred men, Sepoys with the exception of a detachment of artillery; under orders to wait for the decision of the Bombay government, as to what was to be done with the place. He at last received orders to demolish it, and withdraw the troops to the island of Kishme on the Persian coast; which was effected without attempt at hinderance on the part of the surrounding tribes. His conviction had always been, that the Arab chiefs were prevented from attempting to recover the place, principally by their hope that it would be given up with its defences uninjured, by negotiation; and it was politic not to contradict this till the last moment, both from the smallness of the garrison compared with the surrounding population, the weakness of the actual defences, consisting principally in a wall eight feet high, and the peculiar fact that the supply of water was at the mercy of any enemy superior in the open field, who could either oblige the garrison to go without, or to fight a daily battle a mile from their defences. Under these circumstances, a request was forwarded to the Bombay government, that if the order for demolition was sent, it might be accompanied with Bombay water in casks, to the extent that would supply the garrison during the period necessary for the operation. The government, with the decision characteristic of Indian administrations, acted on the

suggestion ; and the Bombay water was finally left untouched upon the beach, without any attempt of the Arabs to interfere with the demolition of the place.

The expedition to the Persian Gulph had been entirely successful, and had been marked throughout by a moderation strongly contrasting with the proceedings often adopted by what are called civilized nations towards weaker powers. The Wahabees, or Mohammedan Lutherans, might in the main be considered as making an integral part of the great struggle for political and religious freedom, which in different forms and degrees is carrying on throughout the world. But their converts on the sea-coast were unable to resist the temptation of supporting the good cause by cruising against the infidels, and in so doing had repeatedly embroiled themselves with the powerful race of misbelievers who rule in India. On the present occasion, they had fallen in with ships of idolatrous Hindoo merchants from Surat, and on being referred to St. George's ensign at the stern, had answered irreverently, that they knew better what colour Englishmen were of, than to take the vessels for English. On a demand for restitution being forwarded from Bombay, the chiefs replied, that they would not have seized the ships if they had known them to be English, but the ships and cargoes had been broken up and divided, as was their rule with respect to nonconformist property in general, and it was out of their power to recover anything if they were to try. Upon this the expedition sailed ; which ended in occupying and demolishing their principal strongholds upon the coast, enforcing the surrender of all the vessels calculated for carrying on a " holy war," and making the various tribes on the sea-coast parties to a treaty, which while it bound them to the disavowal of piratical war, contained securities for the protection of their honest commerce. It was this treaty which contained the article declaring the transport of slaves by sea to be an act of piracy ; a proposition which the Wahabee plenipotentiaries received with shouts of glee, as knowing that it cut ten times against our ally the Imâm of Maskat, for once against themselves. It would be within the most rigid bounds of truth to assert, that throughout the whole of this expedition, not a single life was taken by any harsh application of pretended laws of war, notwithstanding the opportunity presented by the enemy's lying under the

odious title of "Pirates;" nor any destruction of private property, except what was inseparable from the military operations: as everywhere, there was found a strong party among the Arabs themselves, in favour of peace and legitimate commerce; and this party it was made the great object to uphold and to encourage. If proof were wanted of the ultimate success of this considerate policy, it may be found in the comparative non-existence of piracy since.

But all this was to be followed by a series of "untoward" and lamentable events, which might be supposed intended to demonstrate to all parties the dominion of accident in human affairs. A resident in the Gulph wrote to the government of Bombay, that certain boats had been plundered by the Arabs of Al Ashkarah, a point on the coast of Omân, beyond the limits of the Persian Gulph, and in no way included in any of the previous operations or the treaty which had followed. The Bombay government sent an order to the commandant at Kishme, to act against these Arabs from Kishme, in the event of their clearly appearing to be piratical, but to address a letter to them previously to any hostile attack being made; adding at the same time the information, that the Imâm intended to send a force against them as soon as the time came for their moving into their plantations. It turned out that Al Ashkarah was merely their place of embarkation, and that the tribe in question were the Beni Bou Ali, whose residence the Imâm had long been beleaguering after the manner of the Arabs, and when the proper season arrived, intended to attack again. He accordingly addressed a letter as directed. The letter was committed to an Arab sheik, who volunteered the office in consequence, as he said, of his connexions with the tribe; and the messenger was conveyed to the shore in the boat of a British cruiser. On his setting foot on the beach, a party of armed men,—the Orangemen probably of the tribe, whose "truly Arab" spirit revolted at the idea of communication with the misbeliever,—rose from behind the sand-hills, and hewed the unfortunate messenger to pieces at the stern of the boat, some of them at the same time falling by the fire directed on them by the boat's crew. The injunction to communicate, appeared to be fulfilled and answered. Few will see any alternative, but to proceed to execute the orders to act; and military men will comprehend, that the fact of the receiver of the orders

having been the prominent organ of what might be called the anti-war party in the Gulph, did not make less imperative the duty of acting with decision under the circumstances which had arisen. The possible ways of acting against the hostile tribe were two. One was to throw the disposable force from Kishme ashore on the nearest point of the coast to the residence of the tribe, and thence march up through sixteen miles, described as a sandy desert without water or assistance of any kind. The other was to land at Soor, a fortified town of the Imâm's, and thence proceed through the Imâm's country, along a line of fortified towns in the hands of the Imâm, the last of which (Balad Beni Bou Hassan) was within three miles of the enemies' town, and where he had already been collecting his means of attack. The Imâm engaged for the supply of provisions, and for the assistance of six hundred camels and the *posse comitatús* of Omân to convey the stores and guns. The distance by this route from Soor to Balad Beni Bou Hassan was found to be forty-three English miles, and presented no local difficulty, except a mountain pass at Nejd, on both sides of which the Imâm had forts. There could be no hesitation in determining which of the two was the reasonable course. The united Maskat and Sepoy force arrived without accident at the town of Beni Bou Hassan; and the next morning proceeded towards the hostile town, with intent to take up a position pointed out by the Imâm as necessitated by the localities and the supply of water. The Imâm's forces in the field, including those engaged in drawing the guns, were estimated at two thousand, besides three hundred and twenty Sepoys and four guns. The force of the enemy was reported to be nine hundred bearing arms. The hostile sheik (Mohammed Ben Ali, the name of this Napoleon of the desert is worth preserving) waited till he saw his opponents with their guns lumbering in the sand, (it is very difficult to carry on war in Arabia without sand,) and then attacked the rear of the line of march sword in hand, and won a complete victory by as perfect a specimen of the second order of Vegetius as has been witnessed since the days of that master. The Sepoys were moved rapidly with the intention to attack the attacker with the bayonet, being the recipe for such cases made and provided; but at the decisive moment they unhappily saw what the French Emperor called the *tête de Méduse*, opened a fire which failed to repulse the

enemy, and finally gave way before the broad sword of the Arabs, as the English grenadiers did before that of the Highlanders at Preston Pans and elsewhere. The details of the action are in the London Gazette of 18th May, 1821. The remnants of the beaten forces collected in Beni Bou Hassan ; and subsequently retired overland to Maskat, on the presumption that the pass on the other road would not fail to be occupied. Another expedition was as quickly as possible sent from Bombay, consisting of two European and two Sepoy battalions, under the command of Sir Lionel Smith. They took the same route ; but before leaving Soor, their camp was attacked in the night by their active enemy, and sustained some loss. Mohammed Ben Ali himself was at the same time wounded in the arm. The force proceeded before the town, and the Wahabees repeated their attack, at nearly the same place. They overturned a Sepoy battalion, but were received by the 65th regiment and repulsed. After this the town was soon taken, and the defenders obliged to surrender in one of the forts. The sheik maintained that he should have beaten after all, if a neighbouring sheik with a considerable force had not gone off into the desert after the first repulse. The prisoners were conveyed to Bombay ; the brother of the sheik in the interval dying of his wounds. At the meeting between the captive sheik and his original assailant, they agreed heartily on one point,—that it would have been a happy thing for both if the letter had reached its destination. After some time, the unfortunate Wahabees were returned to their home through an agreement with the Imâm ; and it would appear from the journal of Lieutenant Wellsted, that they are living in revived security, and with no rancorous recollections of their ancient misfortunes. If they will only abstain from piracy, may they worship one God there for ever !

It is by no means clear that the Wahabees may not be destined to play an important part ; and the English, if they can look beyond an occasional squabble with the water-borne portion, may have more influence with them than any other nation. An occupation of Persia by Russia, or a division of the Turkish empire, would raise the independent population of Arabia to political importance ; and very slight encouragement, would send them to plant the banner of reform at either Aleppo or Ispahan

In 1821, his regiment being ordered home, he applied for leave to proceed by way of the Red Sea, and in the following year passed by that route, accompanied by his wife, and a boy of six years old, since not unknown to the public as the author of "Twelve Months in the British Legion." The journey added one to the previous proofs, that among Mohammedans of every description, the presence of a woman is a passport to hospitality and respect. Through being too late in leaving Bombay, the voyage to Cosseir, which was performed entirely in Arab vessels, was protracted by contrary winds; and more than a year was consumed in reaching England. Soon after the arrival of his regiment, he found himself senior captain; and in June 1825, was promoted to an unattached majority. In Jan. 1827, he effected an exchange into the 65th regiment of foot, then in Ireland; and in February 1829, was promoted to an unattached lieutenant-colonelcy of infantry.

After his return to England, he became a frequenter of the Spanish and Greek committees; which was the occasion of introducing him to the acquaintance of Dr. Bowring, and subsequently to Jeremy Bentham. His introduction to the last-mentioned remarkable individual, was in consequence of a plan for translating into Arabic his "Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code;" a work in which the translator made considerable progress, but has never been able to add the final process, of procuring the revision of a competent native. To the first number of the Westminster Review, then just appearing, he furnished the article on the "Instrument of Exchange;" which had been the result of eleven years' continuous study. He contributed nothing more till 1829, except the Arabian portion of the article on the "Arabs and Persians" in the number for Jan. 1826; in which was introduced a collection of reminiscences in the Persian Gulph, somewhat surreptitiously obtained from the lady who has been previously mentioned. In Jan. 1829, he became a joint proprietor with Dr. Bowring in the Westminster Review; and beginning with the article on the "Catholic Question," of which forty thousand were dispersed under the title of the "Catholic State Waggon," continued to write at the rate of three or four articles per number, making upwards of a hundred in all, till the Review was transferred in 1836. His articles may be known, at least negatively, by the rejection of the formula of "We;" an abstinence which to the utmost of

his power he impressed on all concerned, after in October 1831 he had succeeded to the charge of Editor. The Three Days of Paris had given an impetus to the popular cause all over the world, and the Westminster Review was not backward in endeavouring to strengthen the impression. When the Belgian revolution broke out, Dr. Bowring was with his family at Paris. His co-proprietor wrote to him, "Leave father and mother and go to Brussels, and bring us a representative of the insurgents;" and the active missionary landed from the first steam-boat, with Van de Weyer and the Belgian colours at his button-hole.

In 1825, he attempted to serve the Greek cause, by two pamphlets in modern Greek and French; one on the service of out-posts, and the other on a system of telegraphers for field service, accounts of which may be seen in the Westminster Review for July 1834. In 1826, he published the "True Theory of Rent," in support of the theory of Adam Smith against Ricardo and others; in which view he was subsequently borne out by Say. And in the following year he published the "Catechism on the Corn Laws;" a work which has since gone through many editions, and received many additions. In this and other publications on the same subject, he may boast of having collected and answered above six hundred distinct fallacies; so numerous is the crop that can be produced by interest grafted upon power. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1828. In 1829, he was the author of a work entitled "Instructions to my Daughter for Playing on the Enharmonic Guitar; being an attempt to effect the execution of correct harmony, on principles analogous to those of the ancient Enharmonic." The object was to prove from the Greek writers on music, that the Enharmonic of the ancients was an unsuccessful attempt at obtaining correct harmony, or exact tune, under all changes of the key; and that the difficulties which have beset the ancient and modern students of the Monochord, are solvable by the discovery that the dissonances (meaning the Sevenths and Seconds of the key) are *double*, or have each two forms, differing by a comma, the choice of which is determined by the consonance which happens to be in connexion; the Third and Fifth demanding the acuter form of the dissonance to make harmony with them, and the Fourth and Sixth the grave. He followed this up by the construction of an Enharmonic

Organ on the same principle; on which subject and the preceding, details may be found under the heads of "Enharmonic of the Ancients" in the Westminster Review for April 1832, and "Enharmonic Organ" in the same work for January 1835. In 1830, he made his first publication of an attempt to clear geometry of axioms, including the celebrated difficulty on the theory of parallels. The work, under the title of "Geometry without Axioms," was laboriously continued through five editions, with successive amendments. The generation of the straight line and of the plane, appeared to be satisfactorily referred to the Platonic property of the "perfection" of the sphere,—meaning the property by which it is turned round its centre without change of place;—but the part relating to parallels *laisait encore à désirer*. The author is now engaged on a sixth edition, in which he expects to produce the results of three-and-twenty years continuous toil, with the advantage, at all events, of a reduction of one-half in point of length. He has perhaps done enough to show, that the problem is not of a nature untangible by human industry; and it may finally turn out, that, like the problem known to navigators under the title of "clearing the lunar distance," it is capable of an unlimited amount of successive improvements, although never reduced to the simplicity it might be possible to desire. The later editions contained a collection of thirty unsuccessful attempts of ancients and moderns, at the solution of this *vetata questio*; a curious evidence of the interest attaching to the point. The work attracted more attention in France than here; and a laboriously accurate translation was published in 1836, by M. Van Tenac, then professor of mathematics at the royal establishment at Rochefort, and subsequently attached to the ministry of Marine at Paris. In 1830 he was also the author of a pamphlet published by Ridgway on the "Adjustment of the House of Peers;" which obtained the remarkable compliment of being republished in Cobbett's Register. In the same year, at the invitation of Jeremy Bentham, he edited the Tenth Chapter (being the part relating to military establishments) of his "Constitutional Code," and was the author of the notes, and "Subsidiary Observations" at the end. It cannot be omitted, that it was on his representation that the great man just mentioned, in one of the last works which proceeded from his hand, altered his celebrated phrase of "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," into "The greatest happiness;"

accompanying it with an earnest protest against the misconstruction which some had hit upon, of supposing he intended that the happiness of the majority, say for instance a majority of *one*, was to be pursued at any sacrifice, however disproportioned, of the happiness of those who chanced to be in the minority. In 1834, he published at Paris, in answer to the proceedings of the *Enquête* or Commercial Inquiry then professed to be carried on by the French government, the "*Contre-Enquête. Par l'Homme aux Quarante Ecus;*" in which the principles of commercial freedom, which had taken earlier root in England, were developed under a familiar form. The contents may be found at large, with a translation, in the *Westminster Review* for January 1835.

At the general election in January 1835, he received 1386 votes at Preston, without being present. In June following, he was elected by a majority of five, for Hull his native place, and was subjected to the fine, amounting in this instance to four thousand pounds, which the institutions of the country leave at the discretion of political adversaries to inflict. Another consequence of this election, was the transfer of the *Westminster Review*; both the proprietors being now otherwise engaged. His votes may be briefly described, as having been always on the popular side. From the analysis of the session of 1836, it appeared that in point of attendance he was third; and on the fifteen most important divisions, was one of four who had voted at the whole. He was always opposed to the New Poor Law, while not accompanied by the removal of the Corn Laws; and voted with Mr. Walter for inquiry. He also voted against ministers on the Factory Act Alteration Bill. There were few questions of importance on which he did not say something in aid of the popular cause; and it may be gathered from the language of political opponents, that they thought he spoke too often and too much. The particular class in politics to which he defined himself as belonging, was that of the "republicans under compact." On the subject of religious liberty, he was always equally ready, whether to support the high Orangemen in their resistance to the forced attendance of the Protestant soldier on Catholic ceremonies, or to oppose the progress of Sabbatarian persecution in the hands of the same individuals. The last of these questions, though badly supported at first, he ultimately did much to lay at rest, by fairly placing the opposition on the basis of maintaining,

that the Judaical observance of a seventh day is not only not directed, but is prohibited among other Jewish peculiarities, in the writings of the Christian apostles. His freedom from professional trammels, was proved by his votes and speeches on military punishment, and on the government of the army; and the last thing he did in the House of Commons, was to give notice that if returned again to parliament, he would move for leave to bring in a bill, to declare that no foreign prince or potentate can have any authority or succession within this realm. In discharge of an engagement with his constituents, he maintained a constant correspondence with them on the proceedings in parliament; which was forwarded generally twice a week, and published in two local newspapers, and afterwards republished under the title of "Letters of a Representative." In person he is short, and stouter than would now beseem a Light Dragoon; but capable of much fatigue, and insensible to irregularities of hours and seasons. Bold and acceptable as a popular speaker, but not prolix enough for the House of Commons. Combining the willingness to follow, with the readiness to lead, his whole deportment may be traced to a single spring of action—the professional habit of desiring to sustain the character of "a good officer," in the furtherance of the cause he has espoused.

The circumstances attending his election at Hull, made him unwilling to risk their repetition. On the dissolution of parliament, he declined standing for two important constituencies, because in the existing state of parties he would not oppose a Whig candidate already in the field. The prospect of being elected by another constituency with the consent of liberals of all classes, was lost by a delay in the receipt of a letter. He tried to recover the ground by standing for Maidstone, but failed, through causes which the residents in that borough are best able to explain. On the declaration of Lord John Russell at the opening of the new parliament, he considered himself absolved from further duties towards the Whig party; and took the most decided course condemnatory of ministers, at the well-known meeting at the Crown and Anchor on the subject of Canada. Out of parliament by accident rather than by any defect of popular support, he may be considered as among those who only "bide their time" to return.

GEORGE BYNG, ESQ., M. P.

MR. BYNG is one of the very few remaining of those who formed part of the Commons' House, when that assembly was graced by the presence of those master spirits of the last age, whose surpassing eloquence, though ever and anon rushing into conflict "so brightly fierce" as to place even the state itself in jeopardy, commanded the admiration of Europe, and gave laws to the world. There did the member for Middlesex sit in council with PITT and FOX, and SHERIDAN and BURKE

" — The state's whole thunder born to wield ;"

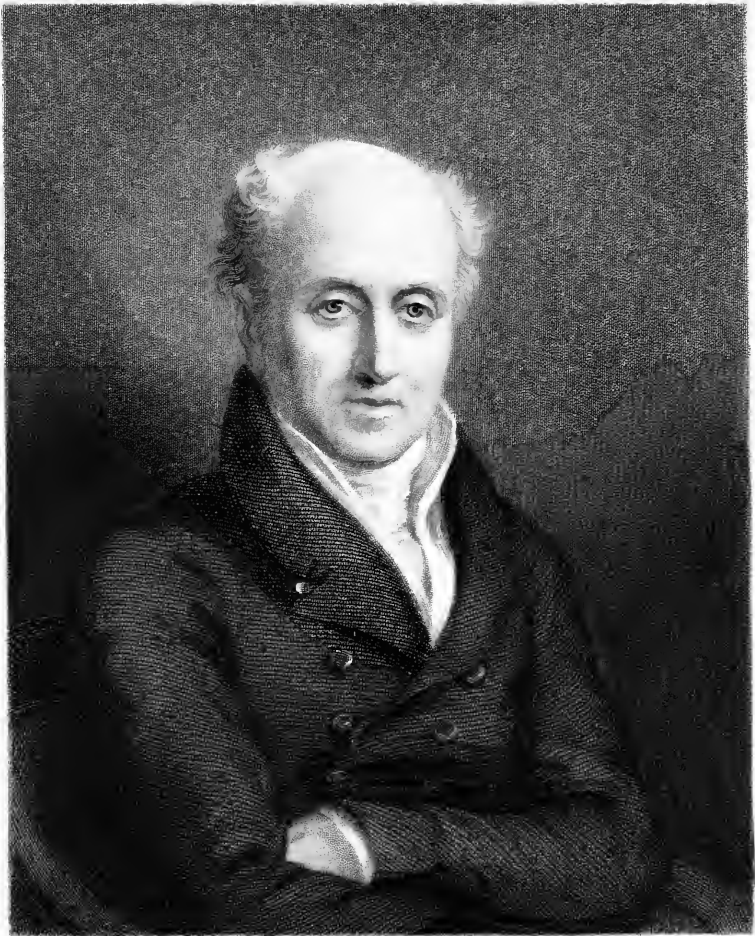
and he still lives, after half-a-century's services in the senate, enjoying the proud consciousness of never having swerved from the principles upon which he first embarked in public life, and holding fast to that integrity which

" Will smooth his passage to the quiet grave."

Mr. Byng descends from a family of considerable antiquity and respectability in the county of Kent. His great grandfather, Admiral George Byng, one of the most distinguished naval officers in the British service, was first created a baronet, and then elevated to the peerage, as BARON BYNG and VISCOUNT TORRINGTON. His great-uncle was the unfortunate Admiral Byng, whose judicial murder, in 1757, so deeply stains the pages of our national annals, and reflects such indelible disgrace upon the government of the day.

Mr. Byng was the eldest son of George Byng, Esq., who represented the county of Middlesex as colleague of the celebrated John Wilkes, and one of the most unflinching and able supporters of Mr. Fox in his opposition to the American war.

He was born in May, 1764. In his tastes and habits he was what is generally denominated "a country gentleman;" he was fond of rural sports, and given to old English hospitality. Upon the death



W. A. Young

For a complete list of his works see the

of his father, which happened in 1789, Mr. Byng offered himself as a candidate for the county seat thus rendered vacant ; and he was, in the following year, returned as the colleague of Mr. Mainwaring. From that time, he has sat as the representative of this great and wealthy county, and is entitled to the distinction of being “ the father of the House of Commons.”

Upon his first entrance upon public life, Mr. Byng attached himself to the political party with whom his father had acted, and under all the phases through which the government has since passed, he has maintained the character of a sound and consistent Whig. In 1803, he acted as nominee for Mr. Birch, before the Nottingham committee ; in 1804, he voted with the minority of 82, for an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection in Dublin ; he was one of the 204 members who supported Mr. Fox in his critical and important motion on the incompetency of the national defence, and he divided against Mr. Pitt’s additional force bill. In the following year, his name is found amongst the 217 for criminating the conduct of Lord Melville ; and he afterwards joined in the prosecution of that delinquent nobleman.

Parliamentary reform was one of those measures that received the constant and hearty support of Mr. Byng, when it was not only unfashionable, but unsafe, for a man to profess himself a reformer. In 1793, he supported Mr. Grey’s motion ; and in later times, he steadily voted for every measure of the kind introduced into the House of Commons. He is, however, one of those who take their stand upon the Reform Bill, and express themselves as having been satisfied by the passing of that measure. Hence he has—unfortunately, as we think, even in reference to those very principles which he has in all other respects evinced an anxious desire to see realized in the administration of the country—opposed all attempts subsequently made to carry out and perfect the principle of the bill of 1832, which was declared by its authors to be the extinction of the system of nomination, and the conferring upon the community at large the right and the power to elect the representatives of the country in the Commons’ House. Mr. Byng’s name is found in most of the majorities against the ballot, and in those also against repealing the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Bill, which have been found to

operate so injuriously in reducing the constituencies in populous towns and boroughs, and thereby throwing back into the hands of the Tories that baneful power which they wielded with such disastrous effect under the old system of representation. He is a very moderate reformer of the church; contends that the corn-laws are a wise protection to the farmer, as well as an indispensable provision for the very existence of the landlord; and avers, in so many words, that having obtained the Reform Act, the people ought to be satisfied without agitating any further questions.

It is gratifying to be able to throw aside all qualifying phrases, when speaking of Mr. Byng as the champion of civil and religious liberty, in the widest and most comprehensive sense of the expression. He was in the minority with Mr. Fox, when he first moved for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1790; and more than once he placed his seat in great jeopardy by his steadfast adherence to the great principle involved in that question, and the bold and fearless manner in which he avowed such adherence. In 1805, when the question of Catholic emancipation was first urged upon the legislature, the member for Middlesex was to be found amongst the small but powerful band of liberals by whom it was supported, and he was never absent from any one division upon the question, until it was carried in 1829. To most other measures for the amelioration of our civil and political institutions, especially in Ireland, Mr. Byng has ever been found giving his support, and, excepting the error in judgment to which we have already adverted, we look in vain for any flaw in his public character.

In person, Mr. Byng is tall and well formed; and, although in his 74th year, he holds his head erect, and exhibits in his fine open countenance and manly brow, the very model of "a fine old English gentleman," full of good humour and benignity.

Mr. Byng married Harriet, eighth daughter of the late Sir William Montgomery, Bart. He is brother to Lord Strafford, who was elevated to the peerage in 1835; cousin to Lord Torrington; and uncle to Lady Ramsden, and Captain George Stevens Byng, M.P.



ROBERT W. M. 1840

Robert W. M.

Engraving by George Taylor 1840

THE RIGHT HON. C. P. THOMSON, M. P.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

THE Right Hon. Charles Poulett Thomson is brother of Mr. George Poulett Scrope, member for Stroud, and son of the late J. Poulett Thomson, Esq., of Roehampton, in the county of Surrey, an eminent Russian merchant in the city of London. He was for several years a partner with his brother in the mercantile house already alluded to, the business of which was carried on under the firm of Thomson, Bonar, and Co. At the general election in 1826, the freemen of Dover, resident in London, resolved to put in nomination for the representation of that port, which had up to that time been dealt with as the property of the lord-warden, some independent gentleman of liberal principles; and with a view to secure his services, they applied to Mr. Hume. The hon. member assigned his connexion with the Angus Burghs (Montrose, &c.), as the reason for not acceding to the request; but he undertook to bring forward a gentleman who would be found in all respects to meet their views. On the following evening, the Dover electors, resident in the metropolis, held a meeting, and Mr. Hume introduced Mr. Poulett Thomson to their notice and support. In his address upon this occasion, Mr. Thomson fully explained his political principles, which he declared to be "strictly in accordance with those entertained by the member for Montrose," and the meeting came to an unanimous resolution, not only to put him in nomination, but to secure his return for Dover—a contest for which had hitherto been a costly proceeding—without subjecting him to any expense. And they realized their object. Mr. Thomson was returned in the place of Mr. Butterworth, by whom he

was opposed, and at each subsequent election he was equally successful against Mr. Halcomb, the lord warden's nominee.

At the first general election, held after the passing of the Reform Bill, in 1832, Mr. Thomson was re-elected for Dover, as he had been on four previous occasions, free of expense; but having also been put in nomination for Manchester, and returned for that borough, the hon. member terminated his connexion with his former constituency, by resigning, with their full approbation, we believe, his seat for the Cinque Port; and he has from that time represented the important borough of Manchester in the House of Commons.

As a member of parliament, Mr. Thomson soon distinguished himself, not only by the liberal character of his politics, and his active and business-like habits, but by his general knowledge and experience, and his familiarity with the principles of a sound political economy. In the session of 1830, he moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the existing system of taxation, the grounds for which he laid in an able and effective speech, exhibiting the mischievous incidence of many of the imposts levied upon the industry of the country, as also the waste of the public resources effected in their collection. Upon the accession of Earl Grey to office, at the latter end of the same year, Mr. Thomson's name was found in the list of the new ministry, as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy—appointments that gave general satisfaction to the commercial part of the community. Upon his accession to office, Mr. Thomson retired from the mercantile firm to which he had belonged, and devoted himself wholly to the discharge of his official duties, at the Board and in the House of Commons, much to the benefit of the public service, and wholly to the satisfaction of his constituents.

Lord Grey retired from office in 1835, and Lord Melbourne succeeded to the premiership. In remodelling his government, the noble viscount very wisely placed Mr. Thomson as President at the head of the Board of Trade, which office he held until the dissolution of the cabinet in November of the same year, and resumed it upon Lord Melbourne's return to power, in April, 1835.

We have already stated that Mr. Poulett Thomson's politics are

sound and liberal. He is, in fact, a radical in principle—holding the necessity of the ballot, and the propriety of short parliaments; as also the justice and policy of a repeal of the corn laws, and such a modification of the existing fiscal system as would relieve the springs of industry from all undue pressure, and transfer the burden of taxation to the luxuries and fixed property of the wealthy. Catholic Emancipation, the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the Enfranchisement of the Jews, and all other measures tending to secure the most perfect liberty of conscience as well as equal eligibility to offices of trust and emolument, have ever had Mr. Poulett Thomson's advocacy and support; and if, since his accession to office, he has once or twice been silent when topics of popular interest, known to be in accordance with his own principles and feelings, have been under parliamentary discussion, we recollect but one occasion upon which he has permitted himself to be included in an adverse vote, in order to sustain the government majority in the House of Commons. On Mr. Grote's last and gratifying division on the ballot, Mr. Poulett Thomson is found amongst the absentees; but on Mr. Duncombe's previous motion for repealing the rate-paying clause in the Reform Act, his name is recorded in the majority against it. Here the trammels of office appear to have been stronger than the sense of public virtue, and the President of the Board of Trade permitted his fair fame to be blighted by saying "aye" to a question which his judgment must have repudiated.

Few men, even of the ministerial phalanx, are so assiduous in the attention to parliamentary duties as Mr. Poulett Thomson. His extensive knowledge and sound judgment render him a person of "mark and likelihood" for committees of various descriptions; and by his indefatigable attention to much of the private business of the House, he has rendered great public service. As a mere speaker, Mr. Thomson fails. The subject-matter of his speeches is always sound, logical, and argumentative, but his delivery is exceedingly bad. This is overlooked or unnoticed, however, by reason of those intellectual qualities and that modest demeanour by which all his speeches are characterised.

THOMAS WYSE, ESQ., M. P.

IN no way can the name of a senator be introduced more honourably to the notice of the reader, in no way can it more readily bespeak the interest and the respect of the intelligent, the sound-hearted, and the philanthropic, than in connexion with the all-important subject of National Education. Among the names thus honourably associated, is that of the subject of the present memoir, Thomas Wyse, the member for Waterford.

There is but one infallible remedy for all the evils, social and political, which legislative sages are for ever descanting on, and never combining to cure—and that one remedy is Education. There is but one want in which all other wants—manifold and grievous as they are proved to be by the present condition of the people of these kingdoms—meet and concentrate—the want of Education. “Educate, educate, educate,” should be the rallying cry of all enlightened Reformers. To this point should the most constant, and the most strenuous efforts of political agitation be directed. If we are prepared to admit that a mere party object—a mere personal end—is all that the mighty but too much divided band of Reformers in the country is struggling to achieve, then we must acknowledge the soundness of Sir Robert Peel’s maxim, that the battle must be fought in the register-court. But if we recognise, as the real object of this bitter and incessant contention, the interest of mankind instead of party, and the happiness of the many as well as the few, we come at once to the simple truth, which then stares us in the face till we blush to have been blind to it so long, that the real battle must be fought in the school-room. We know of no reformer but the schoolmaster. He it is who is destined to prove the great agitator of the age—and, in the end, the great pacificator—the sole redresser of wrongs, the only conquering hero whose glorious victories are in their consequences



AN ENGRAVING BY PHILIP REYNOLDS

Mrs. W. M. W.

From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds

Printed and Sold by J. M. W. Turner, R. S. W. Turner, and J. M. W. Turner, at the National Gallery, London.

distinguishable from defeats. What are we to think of those reformers (as they call themselves) who witness the effects of systems of education in other countries, and of the want of it in our own; who compare the returns relative to crime and ignorance, which, as in the case of Holland, afford so grand a lesson to the world, with the returns of crime and ignorance in boasted and boasting England, as set forth in those for the year 1837, which shew, that of 23,612 criminals, 8414 were destitute of *all* moral aids from education? What are we to think of “reformers” who have these truths before them, and yet refuse to take any share in advancing the cause of national education? We are compelled to question, unhesitatingly, either their sincerity or their sanity. If they are not traitors, they are the most ignorant of dupes. Among such we have not to number Mr. Wyse.

The subject of this memoir is the eldest son of Thomas Wyse, Esq., of the manor of St. John, near Waterford; and was born in the month of December, 1791. He is the descendant of a Saxon family, settled before the Conquest in Cornwall and Devonshire. His immediate ancestor crossed over to Ireland with Earl Strongbow; and the Wyses still possess a portion of the estates then granted, the manor of St. John above mentioned, which was originally the residence of King John, when Earl of Moreton. It was afterwards held, from the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by the Wyses, and confirmed to Sir William Wyse by Henry VIII. Sir A. Wyse was prior of the order, and ambassador from Queen Mary to the court of Naples.

At the early age of nine years, the future advocate of the cause of education entered the Jesuits' College, at Stoneyhurst, where he had for his contemporaries Sheil, Standish, Lord Shrewsbury, and others. The Greek and Latin authors were here his principal studies. On quitting Stoneyhurst, he entered the university of Dublin as fellow-commoner. Here he early obtained prizes, first in Latin composition, then in classical literature; and, finally, he carried off both the chancellor's prizes, English and Latin. In the Historical Society, prizes or medals were adjudged to him, in oratory, history, and composition; and he was chosen to close the session,—an honour

which is highly rated; the same compliment having been conferred on Plunkett, North, Phillips, Magee, &c.

He was yet young, when the strength of his attachment to the reform cause, and of his sympathy for his unemancipated Catholic brethren, led him to take part in political life. He attended meetings, and spoke occasionally on behalf of objects identified with the interests of his country.

Having entered the Society of Lincoln's Inn, one year of his life, in the prosecution of his studies, was passed in London, which in the year 1815 he quitted for Paris; whence, after a short visit, he returned, but again went abroad in the following year, having resolved to devote some months to a tour in Switzerland, Italy, &c., connecting this with a regular course of classical reading. In 1818 and 1819, he sought new, and still wider ground, travelling with Baillie, Barry, &c. to the East, visiting the "Isles of Greece," and passing through Asia Minor to Constantinople; and for some months pursued a delightful course of studies on the Bosphorus, making himself acquainted with the principal modern works in the eastern tongues: Continuing his tour through Thrace to Chios, through Egypt, Nubia, Palestine, Syria, &c., traversing the whole coast of Asia Minor, he, after a very varied and lengthened series of observations, and studious inquiries, returned to Naples, and thence to Rome. Here, as in other places, he made various measurements and sketches of architecture; the schools, wherever he went, not being forgotten; and when opportunities of close inspection were afforded him, his notes enabled him to put a series of practical questions to the various eminent men whom he encountered in his travels, with a view to a comparative estimate of the state and progress of the great and universal dethroner of despotism—Education.

Mr. Wyse returned in 1820 to England. Passing a portion of the winter in France, he established an intimacy with several distinguished men in that country, Denon, Lacepède, &c., as he had already done with many of the most distinguished ornaments of art, scholarship, and science, in Italy, Germany, and other nations.

In 1821, he returned to Italy, and there, at Canino, married a daughter of Lucien Bonaparte. Equal opportunities were now

afforded him of gratifying his tastes, in the domestic recreations of his villa during the summer, and in the prosecution of inquiries and speculations relative to antiquities, painting, &c. during the winter in Rome.

Mr. Wyse was once more in England in 1825. Devoting himself to politics, he was appointed chairman of the provincial meeting of Limerick, and afterwards of Mr. Stuart's committee in the election of the memorable year 1826. In this he took a leading part, and had the gratification of seeing his party triumphant, and their objects materially promoted by great sacrifices and exertions. He was joined with others in preparing an address to the people of England. He also originated a system of liberal clubs, opposing, at the same time, the destructive doctrine of exclusive dealing. He was further active in the promotion of moderate provincial meetings at Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c.

During this time Mr. Wyse gave to the world several literary productions, "Walks in Rome," "Oriental Sketches," and several manifestations of his political taste and classical enthusiasm. He is also the author of several articles in our popular reviews.

Still more important political duties now devolved upon him. He was principally instrumental in getting up the great meeting, held in 1828 at the Rotunda in Dublin, to petition for Catholic Emancipation; and to him was entrusted the task of drawing up the Address to the King, which was moved by the Earl of Glengall, and which Mr. Wyse seconded. When it was resolved, on the part of the Catholic Association, to send a deputation to England, to confer with the Protestant friends of the question, and to agitate in its behalf, Mr. Wyse had the honour of being chosen as one of the distinguished three; his companions in the expedition being O'Connell and Sheil.

The following year ("the fatal year 1829") emancipation was carried. Mr. Wyse immediately addressed a letter to his Catholic brethren, recommending the suppression of the association. He shortly afterwards published his "Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association;" the Appendix to which contains a long and interesting outline of his views upon Education.

At the election in 1830, he appeared as a candidate for the representation of the county of Waterford, but resigned his pretensions

in favour of Mr. O'Connell. Before he quitted the court-house, however, he was waited upon by a deputation, inviting him to stand for Tipperary. Without canvassing the electors, and after every opposition that could be brought against him, he was, after a contest of eight days, returned as member for that county; an event that effectually broke up the Tory aristocratic influence in Tipperary. In the same year he prepared an address to Earl Grey on education, brought his education bill into parliament, and was actively employed in promoting other useful and necessary works of improvement. He retired from Tipperary in 1832, and, at the same election, was thrown out of Waterford, in consequence of refusing the pledge of Repeal. During the contest, he founded the Literary and Scientific Society of Waterford, Youghall, &c.

He now devoted his time to some favourite scientific pursuits, still keeping in constant view the subject of education, which was dearer to him than all. His recall to public life was not long delayed; for, at the election in 1835, an invitation was sent to him from Lyme Regis, for which place he was returned. In parliament, he proceeded to work, by moving for a committee on diocesan schools; and he again brought in his bill for Irish education, his plan of which was referred to the committee. The following year witnessed the formation of the educational society. At the election of last year, after a contest with the Beresfords, he was re-elected for Waterford; and, during that year, was occupied in advancing educational interests, by attending meetings at Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, Coventry, Cheltenham, and other places. One of the last of his efforts, and that a successful one, has been directed towards the establishment of what is termed (after a German fashion) the "Art Union;" in other words, a society for encouraging a love and knowledge of art, by moderate subscriptions, promising many advantages to subscribers.

When Mr. Wyse speaks in parliament, he speaks to the purpose. When he votes (and he is an active, though not a garrulous member) he votes for the interest of the people. We need not say, therefore, that he is a supporter of the ballot. He is more than that; he is one of those Irish members, whose sympathies extend far beyond the limits of their own country; who support steadfastly and sincerely a national cause, instead of a purely Irish one.



T. E. B.

Th. Telford

Engraving by H. Adams

MR. SERJEANT TALFOURD, M. P.

IF, as the poet tells us, the steep to Fame's temple is "hard to climb," the paths to that proud eminence are fortunately numerous. It seldom happens, however, that a candidate for distinction attains his object by travelling along two or three roads at a time. The subject of our present notice is an exception to the common rule. He has attained distinction in several characters, and merits it in them all. As a lawyer, he has arrived at eminence early in life, and may look forward to the enjoyment of the highest honours of his profession; as an orator, he has placed his name on the select list of those on whom nature has conferred the glorious power of giving to the finest thoughts and the finest feelings, a fitting and spontaneous expression; and as a dramatic poet, he already ranks with the illustrious men of his own time, and of times gone by, to whom the first impulse of his early youth was to pay homage and reverence. These high claims upon the respect and gratitude of his countrymen are crowned by his consistent and fervent endeavours in the character of a reformer; and well may reformers be proud of being associated in a common cause with one whose genius and sincerity are alike calculated to adorn and to advance it.

Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, as member for Reading, represents the town in which his parents and himself were born. His father, who was established there as a brewer, married the daughter of a dissenting clergyman, Mr. Thomas Noon, who had officiated as minister of an Independent congregation in that town for upwards of thirty years. A family of eight children (all of whom, with their mother, are still alive) was the result of this union; the subject of our memoir, who was born on the 26th of May, 1795, being named after

his grandfather, and educated in the form of faith which he professed. Some of his earliest years were passed at the Protestant Dissenters' Grammar-school at Mill-hill, which he quitted for the public Grammar-school in Reading, conducted by Dr. Valpy. There his boyish devotion to the rigid faith of his family gave way to impressions in favour of the Church of England; and there it was that circumstances begot in him not simply a taste for, but an enthusiastic love of that species of poetry, which at home was regarded as sinful,—the Drama. There the enduring truths of Shakspeare obtained an influence over his mind, the fruit whereof is seen in the addition which he has made to the dramatic treasures of our language; and there, too, he early imbibed the ardent political feelings, which still render him the promoter of reform, and the advocate of popular liberty.

The same publication that constituted him an author, proved him a radical; and he was both, while yet a school-boy. His first printed performance was a poem, celebrating Sir Francis Burdett's liberation from the Tower. It appeared in the *Statesman*, and was followed by other outpourings, in prose and verse, of the feeling and imagination of a young reformer. These, as well as performances of a less political character, attracted notice; and he was, while yet at school, so far encouraged by the opinions of his friends, as to publish a little volume, entitled, "Poems on various Subjects." These we have had the advantage of perusing, and, assuredly, few juvenile essays ever exceeded this, either in force of thought or gracefulness of expression. The first of the series of poems, on the "Education of the Poor," was written at Mill-hill, on the occasion of a visit to that establishment by the celebrated Joseph Lancaster, on whom it lavishes all the generous and unquestioning admiration of a youthful enthusiasm; as in turn it apostrophizes in the same spirit the shades of Milton, Newton, Howard, Chatham, and Nelson. The amiable and ardent character of the young writer, the liberality of his views, and the kindness of his disposition towards the world on which he was so soon to enter, were not less conspicuous than his taste and refinement as a worshipper of the muse, in some specimens of a didactic poem, also published in the same volume under the title of "the Union and Brotherhood of Mankind."

This youthful performance introduced its author to Mr. Joseph Fox, then known and esteemed for his services and sacrifices in the cause of education, who gave him a letter of introduction to Henry Brougham. To this distinguished person, at his chambers in the King's Bench Walk, the young poet repaired, and from him he received extreme kindness, and much good advice, both in person and by letter; all tending to encourage him in his plan of working his way to the bar by literary exertion. It was this well-judged advice that led Mr. Talfourd, in April, 1813, to engage himself for a term of four years as a pupil of Mr. Chitty, whose name was even then famous, and whose practice was most extensive. No step could have been more judiciously resolved upon.

The literary labours of the student, thus zealously devoted to law as well as literature, may be said to have commenced with a long essay, published in the Pamphleteer early in 1813, under the title of "An Appeal to the Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain," on behalf of the Catholics. It deserves a place among the most eloquent tributes to the justice of emancipation. "Many passages bear the stamp of close and powerful reasoning; others are evidences no less striking of a quick and subtle apprehension, and scarcely a sentence but denotes the easy play of an imagination equally graceful and vigorous." When this essay was composed, its author was under rather than over eighteen years of age; others not less brilliant were written about the same time; and they are undoubtedly entitled to rank among the most remarkable testimonies of great and rare powers with which the youth of genius ever enriched its country's literature. We were forcibly struck with a critical examination of some objections taken by Cobbett to the Unitarian Relief Bill, in which the fallacies of that powerful writer are exposed with fearlessness and dexterity; and still higher grounds for admiration are discoverable in some elaborate strictures "on the Right, Expediency, and indiscriminate Denunciations of Capital Punishment, with some Observations on the true nature of Justice, and the legitimate design of Penal Institutions;" a work which must be classed with the best treatises on that fruitful and interesting subject, exhibiting, as it does, great powers of study, a high moral purpose, a keen insight into the workings of the social system, tact in applying and combining the

arguments of previous writers, and original powers of reason and fancy not unworthy of the philosophy of the subject. Among other articles equally well written, and produced at a very early age, two may be mentioned, "Observations on the Punishment of the Pillory," and "An Appeal against the Act for Regulating Royal Marriages." The style and manner of these various papers (it has been remarked) are frequently those of a young mind eager to express itself with freedom and volubility; too intent perhaps on displaying the brilliancy of its resources, and throwing about its treasures of ornament and imagery with more prodigality than judgment; but the speculations opened up, and the mode of reasoning pursued, the clear and strong understanding of an intricate question, and the forcible illustration of it by home-arguments, are far in advance of the years at which these striking powers were developed.

Two years after this, in May, 1815, Mr. Talfourd, then just entering his twentieth year, published his "Estimate of the Poetry of the Age," the only production of his pen, in prose or verse, to which he affixed his name until the publication of "Ion." In his Sketch of the Life of his friend Lamb (Lamb, the world's friend!) he has alluded to this early estimate of the poetical genius of his contemporaries; and however he may erroneously disregard other productions of his youth, on this he must naturally turn an eye of kindly remembrance, because it contains one of the first decided recognitions of the genius of Wordsworth, and fixes the writer of it as one of the earliest as well as the boldest asserters of a poetical supremacy which has, in later years, been universally though silently acknowledged.

The four years of pupilage under Mr. Chitty having expired in 1817, Mr. Talfourd started himself as a special pleader; and his success was, in a short time, so decided, as to render him what he had not been up to this time, independent of assistance from home. He had considerable practice as a pleader, and what was still essential to him, and quite as gratifying, a ready market for all literary productions. He had, while with Mr. Chitty, assisted that gentleman to a considerable extent with his voluminous work on Criminal Law; an acknowledgment of this appears in the preface. Subsequently the chief sources of his literary income, were "The Retrospective Review," and "The Encyclopædia Metropolitana." The articles on

Homer, on the Greek Tragedians, and on the Greek Lyric Poets, (besides papers of a merely historical character) which appeared in the latter of these publications, were from his pen. His connexion with "The New Monthly Magazine" was formed in 1820, and continued for twelve years; at first, indeed, he wrote a great portion of every number, and he regularly supplied the dramatic criticisms, which, for elegance and acuteness, are unexcelled in our time. Thus he went on, cultivating the severities of law in the morning, and at night the graces of literature, or the gaieties of the theatre—and becoming profounder, in a legal sense, for the relaxation and the change. Moreover, as he had opened his estimate of the poetry of the age, by asserting that the world is never too old to be romantic, he evinced his preserved attachment to romance, by writing in 1826, the memoir of Mrs. Radcliffe, which is prefixed to her posthumous works. During these years also he contributed, at intervals, to "The Edinburgh Review," and "The London Magazine;" and brought out an edition of Dickenson's "Guide to the Quarter Sessions."

Mr. Talfourd was not all this time a mere speculating lawyer, or barrister briefless. His practice as a pleader continued prosperously for four years; when on the 10th of February, 1821, he was called to the bar by the Society of the Middle Temple, and joined the Oxford Circuit and Berkshire Sessions. Oxford was the source of his first professional successes, where he early obtained a lead in important causes; while his friends at Reading had an opportunity of promoting his interests, and rewarding his talents and exertions. The gradual extension of his business throughout the circuit induced him to retire from session, at the expiration of twelve years from his appearance there; and now in 1833, he determined on taking the coif. His application receiving the assent of Lord Brougham, he was in Hilary Term of that year called to the degree of Serjeant; and since that time he has, with very few exceptions, confined his practice to the circuit of the Common Pleas. The exceptions are important ones upon public grounds. One was the defence of the True Sun, in the King's Bench, when he startled his contemporaries, and reminded them of the inspired orators of days gone by. Even the Tories paid tribute to his genius displayed thus commandingly; a distinguished individual of that party, likening him to one of the chivalrous

and poetical reformers of old, remarked that “ the arguments which he enveloped in a shining garb put to shame the naked impotence of the Solicitor’s, and held up to public scorn the abject meanness of that tyrannical prosecution.” Not less real and solid, and scarcely less brilliant than this, was his defence of Tait’s Magazine against the action of Richmond, in the Exchequer.

It was about this time—at this very time when he was making these noble efforts, and when the labours of his profession seemed to require his nights as well as days for the performance of them—that his poetical temperament asserted itself in an anxiety to accomplish an object which he had sketched a few years before, as a thing that might be, but which he had made until now no attempt to realise. This was the composition of his finely thoughtful and impassioned tragedy of “ Ion.” He has himself described the progress of that drama, in terms plain and public enough to silence the silly reports about the number of years he had devoted to writing it. The fact is, that until 1833, it was merely a classical dream, a vision of beauty unrealised even to himself. Now, however, he resolved to write, as well as dream ; and before the termination of the following year, the drama was privately read to a few of his friends. It was upon their judgment that he resolved first to print it for private circulation ; and subsequently to sanction its performance for a single night, for the benefit of Mr. Macready. The genius of that admirable actor was as rightly exercised as his judgment had been ; and the one night grew into hundreds. The success of the tragedy, wherever it was acted, was unequivocal, and the name of its author was, at once, and by acclamation, enrolled amongst those of the poets, so as to gratify in its utmost scope the wish which he must have repeated a thousand times after Wordsworth, lightening with it the coldest and driest tasks of daily pursuit—

“ Oh might my name be numbered but with theirs,
Then gladly would I end my mortal days !”

Instead of ending his mortal days, however, he was just about this time commencing a new life in Parliament. All who were well acquainted with his strong political sympathies, and the consistency with which he had preserved them—from the time when, in 1819, he

had signalled them at a public meeting in Reading, upon the Manchester massacre; and by political articles, contributed to "The Champion," then conducted by John Thelwall, to the period when he denounced, with such eloquence and fearlessness the prosecution of the press, and the Tory spy-proceedings of years gone by—unaffectedly rejoiced at the result of the Reading election in 1834, when Mr. Serjeant Talfourd was returned by a large majority, composed of all parties, as one of the representatives of his native town. His friends had long looked to the House of Commons as a stage on which his brilliant powers would ensure him a rich harvest of honour, and they hoped for a frequent and fearless exercise of them. In some respects, perhaps, they have been disappointed. His opening speech upon the Irish Municipal Reform question would have conferred a high reputation upon some speakers; but it was unequal to the expectation which Mr. Serjeant Talfourd had raised, and the fame which he carried with him into the House. He spoke, if we recollect, under very disadvantageous circumstances—early in the evening, with little or no preparation, and not from his own prompting, but from a desire to relieve another member from the responsibility of opening the debate. It would be inexcusable were he to allow such accidents to damp, in any degree, his ardour and confidence as a parliamentary debater; especially as he has, on several subsequent occasions, given the most unquestionable proofs that the effects elsewhere produced, are by the same means to be produced in the House of Commons. We may point, for example, to the speech which he delivered in 1837, on introducing a bill for the amendment of the law of Copyright. The tone, the style, the illustrative references, like the subject itself, were new to the ear of the House. Impassioned eloquence offering homage to illustrious writers, dead and living, and enforcing the claims of struggling professors of literature upon that property "in song or sonnet" which the law allows to be wrested from them—this was a topic not likely to attract in such an assembly. Yet with what interest was it listened to—how forcibly were those struck by the argument, who had never bestowed a thought upon it before; and how important all of a sudden became the claims of authors, in the eyes of honourable members who have never once opened book since they left college, save "Burn's Justice," and "Th

Mirror of Parliament." The speech of the member for Reading on this occasion, was one of the most argumentative as well as imaginative that have been heard for a series of years.

Again returned to parliament at the election of last year, as member for Reading, the present session has witnessed another most impressive effort of Mr. Serjeant Talfourd's, on introducing the question relating to the custody of Infants; a subject which, like that of Literary Copyright, he has taken up with a full discernment of its bearings, and with characteristic solicitude for the cause of humanity and enlightenment which is involved in it. He has spoken, however, but on a few questions; on still fewer has he voted inconsistently with a course of practical and complete reform. He is in favour of "organic changes" in the Commons, but votes against the proposition for relieving the Bishops from their attendance in the Lords.

His parliamentary duties he discharges assiduously, when not on circuit; yet he still finds time, however the law or the legislature may claim him, to discharge his duties to literature. Another tragedy has been composed since "Ion" appeared. During this interval, he has also given to the world the Letters of Lamb, with a touching and masterly sketch of the life of his old friend. Among the more intimate literary friends of Talfourd, by the way, we may enumerate some of the master-spirits of the time, Wordsworth, Hazlitt, Godwin, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, Procter, Knowles, &c. Nor should we omit, among his friends, one who was, perhaps, the foremost of them, his "pastor and master," Dr. Valpy, to whom his grateful attentions were continued to the last; these were shewn by regularly attending the meetings of the scholars, and by writing the epilogues to the Greek plays triennially performed.

If his love of the drama, and his sensibility to early associations, were in some degree indicated in these attachments, we may almost go so far as to say, that his political predilections are not wholly invisible even in forming that tie upon which so much of personal happiness depends. The subject of this sketch married, on the 31st of August, 1822, Rachel, the daughter of John Towell Rutt, Esq., a name which is most honourably associated with the patriotism of the early part of the present century, and which, held in affectionate regard by old reformers, should be gratefully remembered by younger ones.



A. Thorpe

1847

THE RIGHT HON. EARL SPENCER.

IT is a disadvantage to the sons of peers, when, as in the instance before us, they succeed to the title late in life, that the opinions by which they desire to become known, and the services which give them a position in the world's regard, were expressed and performed under a name which was only provisionally and temporarily theirs. By the time the heir to a peerage has rendered his own name celebrated and familiar as a household word in the mouths of his countrymen, he is no longer called by it. It is so with the nobleman whose career we have now to sketch. The name of Spencer, honourable as it is in other respects, is in no wise connected with the world-filling renown of framing, proposing, and carrying the Reform Bill; on the other hand, the name of Althorp is inseparably connected with the rise, progress, and success of that measure.

The family of which this nobleman is the representative, is a branch of the house of Spencer, Earls of Sunderland, (now Dukes of Marlborough) springing from the Hon. John Spencer (youngest son of the third Earl of Sunderland) who for many years represented Woodstock, and, for a short time, the county of Bedford. This gentleman was, upon the decease of his grandmother the celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, appointed Ranger of the Great Park at Windsor; and, upon the accession of his brother Charles to the Dukedom of Marlborough and the Churchill estates, he obtained the Althorp estates, the ancient patrimony of the Spencers. In 1761, his eldest son was created Viscount and Baron Spencer, and in 1765, Viscount Althorp, and Earl Spencer.

John Charles, the present peer, is eldest son of the late and second Earl Spencer. His Lordship was born in May 1782, and completed his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained the honorary degree of M.A. His parliamentary career commenced at

the earliest possible period, he being elected for Okehampton, upon his attaining the age of twenty-one. As a candidate, subsequently, for the representation of his *alma mater* he was unsuccessful; but in 1806, he obtained, after a severe struggle, one of the seats for Northamptonshire. During the Fox and Grenville administration, he held office as a Lord of the Treasury, but of course went out with his party. A long course of opposition was now before him; he was not at any time absent from Parliament, and from the retirement of the Whigs to their return to power, he kept his station consistently in the ranks of the more liberal of that party. Amongst that party, his connexions and wealth gave him importance, while the suavity of his disposition rendered him generally popular. On the formation of Earl Grey's Government in 1830, Lord Althorp was appointed to the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and this he retained through all the trials and difficulties of that government, and amidst a conflict of opinions not to be paralleled in the recent annals of parliament, until his accession to the peerage in 1834—an elevation which involved the downfall of the administration of which he was the leader in the House of Commons.

During this reign of four years as leader of the Lower House, his Lordship's authority and influence were unbounded. No minister perhaps ever possessed more individual power in that assembly than he had. His Lordship was never an orator, yet who spoke so irresistibly as he did? Who that happened to be in the House can ever forget the reiterated acclamations which responded to his Lordship's spontaneous appeal to the representatives of the people in a moment of temporary embarrassment to the ministry. "Has the House confidence in me?" was the demand; and all idea of dissent, all sense of difficulty, all conflicting sentiment, was instantly drowned in the tumultuous expression of one absorbing, and as it seemed, universal feeling—a feeling of personal attachment to the noble Lord representing the government, and of confidence in that government upon his account. Mr. Pitt bullied the House, and frightened it; "he was lord paramount, and would have his own way, simply because he chose it." This was not Lord Althorp's plan, and yet his influence was scarcely less complete. Whatever was done amiss, Lord Althorp, either by his candid confession of a blunder, or his good humoured

mode of justifying it, contrived to make all well again, or to reconcile the House to what was not well. Whatever was, was right, during his Lordship's reign as ministerial leader. Dissensions in the cabinet, and opposition at court, frequently forced him into the backward road, instead of the advancing one—still Lord Althorp was sure of a majority to follow him. The cabinet might adopt the very course which Reformers in the House, and the represented out of doors, least expected and desired them to take—still among those cabinet ministers there was a Lord Althorp, and in him the House had faith. His Lordship might, from his view of the ultimate prosperity of the reform-cause as depending on the ministerial existence of those who had for so many years supported it, depart from the line he had taken when in opposition, and break the promises he had formerly given; still his Lordship was understood to mean only, that he postponed the performance of his engagement, that the fulfilment of his promise would come in due season, and in him, meantime, the House had faith! The preservation of the cabinet,—the Grey cabinet first, the Melbourne cabinet afterwards,—seemed to depend from night to night solely upon the strength of the personal respect in which the ministerial leader was held; solely on the popularity of Lord Althorp, the indulgence with which his mistakes, as a finance-minister, were entertained, and the confidence which was reposed in the excellence of his intentions. He was, in all cases, in all perplexities, in all emergencies, “the minister who meant well;” and, assuredly, the world has never had a more striking example of the vast value which is attached to a reputation for good intentions. Nor did the existence of a liberal government merely *seem* to depend solely upon him. He *was* its sole dependence. The King had understood from his prime minister that it was impossible to carry on the government without Lord Althorp as leader in the Commons; and the prime minister understood from the King, not long after, that he was by no means to be allowed to make the experiment, as the Royal mind had come to the same conclusion. Accordingly, Lord Althorp simply became Lord Spencer—he was merely transferred from one house to another—he only shifted his seat in the cabinet, without retiring from office; and the apparently unimportant movement was fatal to the ministry. It was his Lordship's personal qualities,

operating upon the minds of the Commons, that secured at that time official power to his party. Those qualities had obtained for him the distinguishing epithet of "honest Lord Althorp. They especially fitted him for such a post *at such a time*; and these weighed powerfully and effectually against all objections that might be raised against him on the score of unfitness in a financial point of view, for the office which he held. Those who denied to his Lordship the possession of "the high qualifications necessary to constitute a statesman or a finance-minister," were nevertheless constrained to add, "*excepting* the moral qualities of honesty, good temper, and singleness of purpose!" The exceptions, it will be admitted, are important; and let Earl Spencer's history be written as it may, if these qualities are by common consent accorded to him, he has little occasion to "break his heart" (as Sir William Molesworth says) about the refusal to assign to him the rest, even though that refusal be unanimous.

There appears to be little doubt that it was the consciousness which his political friends had of his possession of these qualities for command in the Commons—their estimation of his general character, the placidity of his temper, and conciliatory disposition—their sense of the influence which his station gave him, and of the popularity he derived from a long advocacy of liberal measures, that prevailed upon the noble Lord to accept the office of "leader," rather than any personal ambition of his own. This was felt long before he ceased to hold the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was known as well out of the House as in it that his Lordship retained office purely out of consideration for his colleagues and their cause, and against his own inclination. The termination of his official career was, accordingly, tantamount to the termination of his political life. It was the end of his sacrifices. Since that period, he has scarcely taken any part at all in the political struggle which has been so fiercely carried on; devoting himself to agricultural and farming pursuits, to obtaining prizes for achievements in improving the breed of cattle, and to the maintenance of the character of a "fine old English *country* gentleman."

His Lordship married, in 1814, the daughter and heiress of Richard Acklom, Esq., but she died without issue.



ENGRAVED BY H. PIERCE

J. Powell Beuton

Portrait by George Taylor in 1812

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, ESQ.

THIS gentleman is descended from a family of great respectability in the county of Essex. His long-continued and persevering exertions on behalf of the more depressed and unfriended of his countrymen, as well as of the suffering and enslaved in other climes, have flung a grace and interest upon his name which render it a grateful and a pleasant task to inscribe it among the foremost on the roll of honourable and honoured reformers.

Mr. Fowell Buxton was born in the year 1786. Liberally educated at the college of Dublin, his naturally acute and benevolent mind early received a bias in favour of speculations intimately connected with the improvement of the moral condition of his fellow-beings. While yet young, he paid the closest attention to the subject of Prison Discipline; and in 1816, he published an excellent work, entitled, *An Enquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present system of Prison Discipline; illustrated by descriptions of the several gaols, and the proceedings of the Ladies' Committee in Newgate.* This work, which went through several editions, materially contributed to turn the public attention to the defective state of Prison Discipline; a subject of reformation in which, though something has already been done, much more remains to be effected.

In 1818, Mr. Buxton was returned to parliament as one of the members for Weymouth, which borough the hon. gentleman continued to represent in each successive parliament until the present. His defeat at the last election is a source of extreme regret to the friends of improvement, while it imprints yet another stain upon the character of toryism; for it is to the unscrupulous intimidation and criminal proceedings carried on by the professors of that creed, that

the defeat of Mr. Fowell Buxton is attributable, after having represented Weymouth for a period of twenty years.

In all debates relating to the Criminal Laws, and to the Emancipation of Slaves, as well as in those which, in the hon. gentleman's opinion, affect the interests of religion, he has, throughout the period above-mentioned, taken an active and highly efficient part. Upon other questions than the above, the honourable gentleman has rarely spoken; but his votes have always been given for the advancement of the liberal cause.

On the 1st of March, 1819, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of Gaols and other Prisons of the country; on which occasion, Mr. Fowell Buxton, who was nominated a member of the committee, received a high and merited compliment upon his past efforts, from Lord Castlereagh; and on the following day he delivered a very able and convincing speech, on seconding the motion of Mr. James Mackintosh, for a committee on the Criminal Law; a motion which was carried against government by a majority of 147 to 128. In May of the same year, he lent his warm support to a motion of Mr. Lyttleton against State Lotteries.

In December 1819, upon the introduction of Lord Castlereagh's Seditious Meetings' Prevention Bill, Mr. Fowell Buxton brought forward a proposition for limiting the operation of the measure to three years, but was defeated by a majority of 328 to 153. On May 24, 1821, he again distinguished himself by an able and manly speech, as full of sound argument as of kindly and benevolent sentiments, in support of Sir James Mackintosh's motion for going into committee on the bill for mitigating the punishment of Forgery; a motion which was carried against government by a majority of 118 to 74. In the same year he brought forward a subject on which he succeeded in creating a powerful impression on the public mind—the practice prevalent among the Hindus, of widows burning themselves upon the funeral pile of their husbands. This horrible and barbarous custom he afterwards used his zealous and unremitting exertions to put an end to.

It was on the 15th of May, 1823, that Mr. Fowell Buxton brought forward a resolution in the following terms:—"That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and

of the Christian religion ; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the welfare of the parties concerned." The resolution, however, was withdrawn, on the substitution of others by Mr. Canning, as follows :

1st. "That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population of his majesty's colonies.

2d. "That, through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this house looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population ; such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his majesty's subjects.

3d. "That this house is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose, at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

To the above was added,

"That the said resolution be laid before his Majesty by such members of the house as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council." These resolutions were carried.

A few days afterwards, we find him again at his post, dividing in favour of Sir James Mackintosh's motion for the mitigation of the rigour of our Criminal Laws ; a motion which was lost by a majority of 86 to 76.

In March of the following year, Mr. Canning introduced his measure for the more effectual suppression of the African Slave Trade, which was supported by Mr. Fowell Buxton in an eloquent address. The great principle of Negro Emancipation we now find him advocating and enforcing by a series of strenuous and well-directed efforts, each of which was manifestly prompted by a feeling of perfect sincerity, benevolence and disinterestedness. Thus in May 1826, he moved for a committee to inquire into the extent of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius, and the treatment of the slaves there, which was ultimately agreed to. He also carried a motion in July, 1828, for an address to the king in favour of some amelioration of the condition of the natives of South Africa, and in vindication of their rights and

liberties. In April 1831, he brought forward his motion for the Abolition of Slavery which, after some discussion, was adjourned for further consideration until the 26th of the same month ; but in the interim, parliament was dissolved by King William, to give the people an opportunity of declaring their sentiments upon the Reform Bill.

The government measure for the gradual extinguishment of Negro Slavery in the British colonies, was introduced by Mr. Stanley in May 1833; and on the 30th of the same month, the resolutions founded on that plan were introduced into the reformed House of Commons. The third resolution, which involved the principle of the compulsory apprenticeship, was met with a direct negative by Mr. Fowell Buxton, on the ground that it was unnecessary and impracticable. Having been assured, however, by government, that the resolution did not bind the house to any particular period of compulsory labour, Mr. Buxton withdrew his motion, and proposed to insert words declaring that the labour was to be "for wages." This, likewise, he was ultimately induced to withdraw ; but Mr. O'Connell insisted on dividing the house, and was defeated by a majority of 324 to 42. On the motion for going into committee on the bill, which had been brought in pursuant to the resolutions, Mr. Buxton again discussed the question of compulsory apprenticeships ; and concluded an able speech by moving, "That it be an instruction to the committee, that they shall not for the sake of the pecuniary interests of the masters, impose any restraint or obligation on the negro which shall not be necessary for his own welfare, and for the general peace and order of society ; and that they shall limit the duration of any temporary restrictions which may be imposed upon the freedom of the negroes to the shortest period which may be necessary to establish, on just principles, the system of free labour for adequate wages." On a division, this amendment was lost by a majority of only seven (151 having voted for and 158 against it) ; and the result convinced the government, that they must make some concession in reference to the apprenticeships ; accordingly, on the following day, Mr. Stanley announced that ministers had resolved to reduce the period of predial apprenticeship from twelve years to seven, and of non-predial from seven to five. An amendment moved by Mr. Buxton, to reduce the period of apprenticeship to three years in all cases, was lost by a majority of 207 to 90, a remarkable contrast with the division of the preceding day. Subsequently, Mr. Buxton

moved, "That only one-half the amount of the compensation to the owners should be paid at once, the other being withheld until the period of the apprenticeship of the negroes had expired; and until the negroes were put in possession of all the rights and privileges enjoyed by all other classes of his Majesty's subjects in the colonies;" but the motion was lost by a majority of 277 to 142.

In 1835, the hon. gentleman moved for a select committee to inquire whether the conditions on which the twenty millions were granted had been complied with; but on government pledging itself that the intentions of the legislature should be fully and consistently carried into effect, he withdrew the motion. In July of the same year he obtained the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of the British colonies.

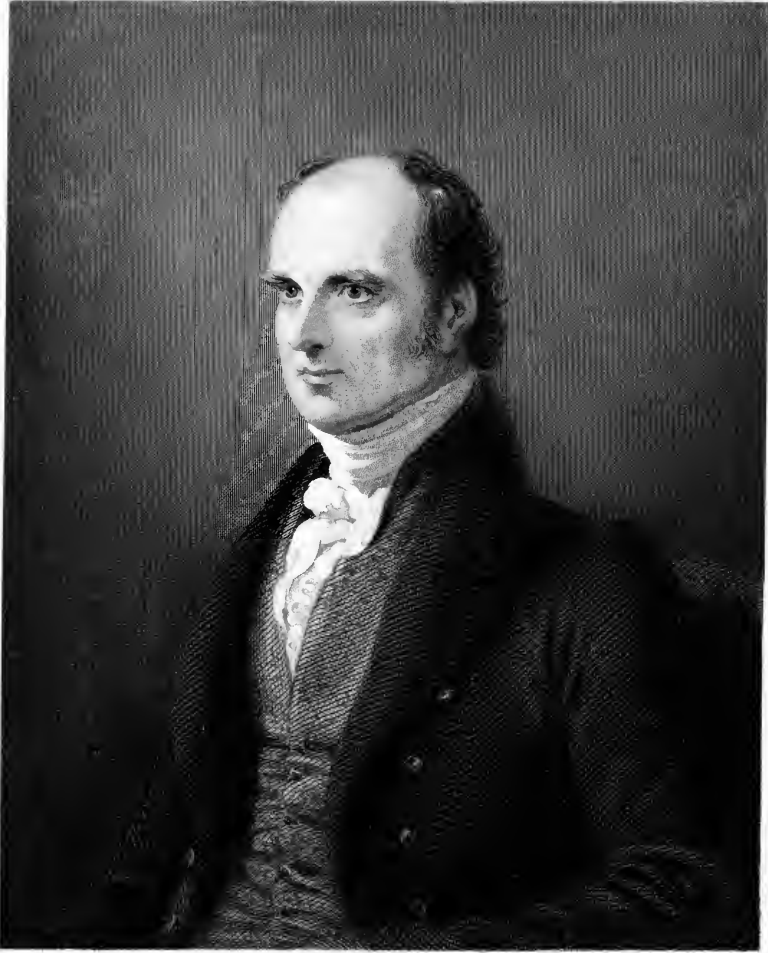
It is easy to perceive, from this outline of the course which Mr. Fowell Buxton took while the Emancipation measure was under deliberation in the legislature, and of the part which he has since performed in questioning the fulfilment of the contract and exacting a rigid observance of it, what would have been his conduct, during the recent crisis, had he enjoyed that seat in the national councils to which his character and his services entitled him. The leadership of the immediate-abolition party must have been conceded to him by acclamation; and there can be little doubt that the cause of the slave-apprentices would have been served, though it could not have been rendered successful, by his earnest and unselfish advocacy. This at least is certain, that his sincerity, disinterestedness, and freedom from all factious feeling, would have stood out in most honourable contrast to the conduct of some of the immediate-abolitionists in the Lower as well as in the Upper House, who can neither lay claim to the merit of consistency in their suddenly acquired taste for agitation, nor to that purity of motive, and exemption from party bias and hostility to Ministers *as* Ministers, which should be the characteristics of the friends of humanity.

Mr. Fowell Buxton has been a constant supporter of the bills introduced for promoting the "better" observance of the Sabbath; but without adopting all the crotchets of the several introducers of such propositions. Though unconvinced that legislation in this matter is more likely to be productive of evil than good, he is, we believe, too enlightened not to see that fanatical and gloomy restrictions to the

extent meditated by some well meaning Sunday-reformers, would tend to the desecration rather than the holiness of the Sabbath; and too just and too humane to subject the poor to hardships and severities which he would not cheerfully encounter himself, in proof of his own sense of religion as well as of his impartiality and fair dealing. This estimable man has also been an active and zealous supporter of all measures tending to further the great ends of humanity, and the inculcation of kindly feelings in his fellow-creatures. The subject of Cruelty to Animals has therefore awakened his attention, and the efforts for its prevention have had the advantage of his aid.

The general policy of the Melbourne administration was warmly supported by him while in parliament. It is wholly foreign to his habits to take an active part in the work of political agitation out of doors; but few men in the country look with more anxiety to the maintenance of the leading principles of reform by the majority in parliament, and still fewer have a stronger or more righteous claim upon the constituent body to be returned once more as a member of that majority, than the late member for Weymouth.

Mr. Fowell Buxton married in 1807, Hannah, the daughter of John Gurney, Esq. of Norwich. It is scarcely necessary to add that he is a partner in the eminent and prosperous firm of Truman, Hanbury and Buxton. He is also a director of the Alliance Assurance Company; and serves as treasurer to the City Mission, and to the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline.



HENRY WARBURTON

Henry Warburton

Engraved by G. Kneller after Sir W. G.

HENRY WARBURTON, ESQ., M.P.

THE present member for Bridport has had the honour of a seat in six successive parliaments ; and by the soundness and liberality of his principles, the ability with which he maintains them in debate, and the general steadiness and consistency of his conduct, has established his claim to the respect of the constituent body generally, and ranked himself among those really independent and public-spirited members, compared with whom so many of their parliamentary associates appear to be "honourable" only by courtesy. There are men of more brilliant powers in the house ; but there are none whose powers, such as they are, their possessors understand more clearly, or employ more profitably.

Mr. Warburton commenced his labours in parliament by calling attention to a subject which he appears to have deeply investigated, and on which he has since succeeded in rendering some valuable services to the cause of science and general enlightenment. We allude to a motion which he introduced in June 1827, upon the presentation of a petition "from the Royal College of Surgeons," complaining of the regulations of that institution. Having obtained the papers for which he applied, he in the following year performed the promise he had given, of zealously labouring for the correction of the many abuses which were known to exist in our colleges of science, and in the laws affecting anatomical studies in particular, by moving for a committee to inquire into the manner of obtaining subjects for dissection for the schools of surgery and anatomy, his object being to facilitate the progress of knowledge, and to weaken or remove those prejudices in the popular mind which had so long operated as obstacles to the diffusion of enlightenment. He succeeded in his motion ; and the inquiry that ensued elicited much useful informa-

tion, and established the correctness of Mr. Warburton's views. He accordingly, in March 1828, obtained leave to bring in a bill to legalize and regulate the supply of subjects for the schools of anatomy. The bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, whose prejudices on the subject, it must be owned, were countenanced by too many out of doors ; and not unnaturally, when we remember the means by which subjects for dissection had hitherto been procurable, and the horror and disgust with which the practice of delivering over to the surgeons the bodies of the more atrocious class of criminals, had led the public generally to contemplate the process of anatomy. While the law, passing over ordinary criminals and paupers whose remains there were no living relatives to claim or care for, branded the wretch who had violated the most sacred ties of heaven and humanity, as worthy of being consigned after death to the hands of the anatomist, the anatomist was naturally associated in the popular idea with the executioner himself. He became an agent in administering the most terrible and revolting punishment, not the practical expounder of a natural system, the most exquisitely beautiful that can be imagined, the study and development of which are not less demanded by the necessities of the body than by the aspirations of the mind. To uproot all narrow and vulgar prejudices on such a point, and to teach the common mind to regard with no revolted feeling the necessary task of the anatomist, and the duty of providing such a supply of subjects as the progress of study may demand, should be the object of the legislature ; and in leading the representatives of the people to consider this necessity and this duty in a light so unobscured by the prejudices of the ignorant, and with a feeling so far removed from that which had formerly prevailed, as well in the councils of the nation as in the breasts of the sick pauper and the sentenced criminal, Mr. Warburton has assuredly acted in the wisest spirit of statesmanship, and has rendered to the community no mean or unenduring service.

The prejudices here referred to, found an apt and unmisgiving representative in the late Mr. Henry Hunt, who, throughout the subsequent debates upon the question of legalizing and regulating the supply of subjects for anatomy, gave to it a strenuous and persevering opposition, under the idea that he was protecting from

outrage the feelings of the poor, the great numerical majority—while in reality he was acting upon and encouraging the true tory doctrine, in supporting the ignorant prejudices of the one, at the cost of the many. Repeated discussion, however, upon such a question, necessarily rendered it too clear for effectual opposition; and accordingly the bill which Mr. Warburton had again introduced at the close of the year 1831, was eventually passed in the May following. Its operation, there is reason to believe, has not disappointed the expectations of the advocates of the measure. A source of outrage upon the sanctities of the grave, and the sweetest and most affectionate sentiments of the living, has been removed by it; society has been spared the shame and disgrace of compelling the anatomical student to remain in want of the very essentials of his study, or to sanction a most disgusting and brutal violation, not merely of the law, but of his own natural feelings of respect for the “quick and the dead;” it has also been saved from the humiliation of seeing the knife of the anatomist associated in the idea of the legislature with the rope of the hangman; and thus even in a short space of time, the facilities of inquiry and study have been greatly increased, the ends of humanizing science have been advanced, a vulgar prejudice has been quietly surmounted, and the tone of public feeling has become insensibly healthier, manlier, and more elevated.

Mr. Warburton has since pursued the objects which he had in view, when his mind first directed itself to the task we have been describing, by successfully moving, at the commencement of the year 1834, for a select committee to inquire into the various branches of the medical profession.

The game laws, as existing when the member for Bridport commenced his parliamentary career of usefulness, formed one of the numerous legal barbarities that found in him a zealous and uncompromising opponent. It was early discovered, that to a keen eye for detecting abuses, he united a shrewd and ready power for exposing them. His speeches from the beginning were invariably short; but always to the point. He at once obtained the “ear of the House,” and kept it. Few men among the staunch and persevering reformers, who are necessarily doomed to urge forward distasteful subjects at most inopportune seasons, and to oblige the opponents of improve-

ment either to assent to what their very instincts teach them to resist, or to endanger their seats by offending a large body of their constituents, have been called to "order," or interrupted by the cry of "question," so seldom as the member for Bridport. He has very rarely fallen below the point of promptitude and energy requisite in a practical reformer at such a period as the present, and he has never damaged his cause by over zeal, rashness of judgment, or the impulses of personal vanity. He never speaks but when he has really something to say; he says it like a man who conceives that speech was given to us to express our thoughts and not to conceal them; and crowding as much argument as he can into as few words as possible, he never tires his auditors, or fails to strengthen his case. An instance of the point and force with which Mr. Warburton occasionally illustrates the subject he is discussing, may be noticed in one of his speeches in exposition of the iniquity and folly of the game laws, to which we have just alluded. "I have read," remarked Mr. Warburton, "in Mariner's account of the Tonga islands, that there the rats were preserved as game; and though every body might eat rats, nobody was allowed to kill them, but somebody descended from their gods or their kings. This was the only country, and the only case I know of, which furnishes anything like a parallel to our game laws." Mr. Warburton's observations are always calm in tone, but searching, effective, and wholly unpretending. He is not a parliamentary orator, but as a debater his character is established. He does not profess to be brilliant, but he has the noble ambition to be useful. He speaks, not to display his logic, his learning, or his accomplishments of any kind—but simply to promote his cause. Even in the House of Commons, qualities of this character are never unappreciated.

As illustrative of the good feeling and the love of fair play, which are generally seen to influence Mr. Warburton's conduct, we may notice a little incident which occurred at a period when the member for Preston above referred to had rendered himself exceedingly obnoxious to every member of the house. When on the subject of the budget of 1831, Mr. Hunt was not allowed a hearing, and at last, in consequence of the interruption and tumult, moved an adjournment, Mr. Warburton in a spirit of chivalry seconded the motion, on the

ground of the interruption only, and said "he would always do so under similar circumstances." A declaration indicative of moral courage exceedingly well timed, and not unproductive of useful results.

In the same year he took a very prominent and active part in the discussion upon the Bankruptcy Court Bill; and, as a matter of course, it may be supposed, entered with all the ardour and firmness of a sincere and strenuous reformer, into the all-absorbing question of the time, the Parliamentary Reform Bill. This carried, he promptly and strongly evinced his sense of what ought to be the altered state of things in the House of Commons, as reformed by the modern *Magna Charta*, ("Parva" seems now the more applicable word,) by supporting the nomination of Mr. Littleton the reformer, as speaker of the House, in opposition to the then lord of the ascendant, the ever overrated Mr. Manners Sutton, who was justly deposed in the following year.

Among the measures to which Mr. Warburton has given an honourable and efficient support, should be mentioned Mr. E. L. Bulwer's propositions on behalf of the rights of dramatic authors; and a reform of the laws relating to theatrical entertainments. Mr. Warburton's advocacy in this instance was the more valuable, and the more honourable to himself personally, from the fact of his holding a renter's share in one of the theatres that had "enjoyed"—to use the word in the sense attached to it, when speaking of persons enjoying a bad state of health—a share in the dramatic monopoly. This and all arrears he professed himself willing to give up, with the view of enabling the minor theatres to perform the legitimate drama, at a rate more adapted to the means of the humbler classes; and thus to scatter the refining and humanizing influences of Shakspeare's writings, among those whom the law had left to find amusement and instruction in irredeemable nonsense, unintellectual contortions, and the most vulgar and vicious buffoonery.

Early in the session of 1833, Mr. Warburton expressed himself as well became an enlightened advocate of a comprehensive system of reform, on the grand subject of taxation. Having risen to second Mr. Robinson's motion for a commutation of taxes, he strongly recommended as the "one thing needful," the adoption of a graduated

property tax—one, however, devised upon such a basis, and characterised by such a consistency of design and equitableness of purpose, as to supersede, if established at all, “all other taxes whatever.”

The principles of free trade are warmly supported by the member for Bridport, and they are rarely touched upon in Parliament without calling him up in advocacy of them. To the present corn laws he is of course opposed, recommending in place of them a fixed and low duty. He is an advocate for the abolition of all taxes on knowledge, whether in the form of a penny stamp upon newspapers, or imposed upon printing and paper. This is a subject in which he has taken an active interest. Among the measures which he has warmly supported may be mentioned the Beer Bill, all alteration of which he has steadfastly resisted. For the Ballot and the Repeal of the Septennial Act he has consistently voted; he would abolish the property qualification of members of Parliament; and is as favourable to a gradual extension of the suffrage—not consenting to render it universal until a national system of education, (to which he is also friendly,) shall have been instituted, and its effects witnessed in the increased knowledge and better regulated habits of large portions of the labouring poor. To the abolition of the degrading barbarity of military flogging, and of the mischievous absurdity of imprisonment for debt, he has laudably devoted his zealous energies. Guided by common sense and a generous sympathy upon these moral points, he is equally influenced by a plain and sound understanding, on matters relating to religious regulations and observances. He has spoken in favour of receiving affirmations in place of oaths where necessary; and has constantly opposed all projects, whether more or less preposterous, for sanctifying the Sabbath by vexation and sorrow, and rendering the poor man’s day of rest, the dullest and dreariest of the week. “I am not one of those,” observed Mr. Warburton, during one of the discussions on a Sabbath bill, “who believe that men can be made religious by act of Parliament.”

Mr. Warburton, in the session of 1834, proposed a plan of taking the divisions of the House of Commons, to which it was agreed to give a trial; but in its operation it appears to have partially failed, and he himself seconded Lord Ebrington’s motion for rescinding the resolution of the House in its favour, declaring his impres-

sion, however, that the experiment had not been satisfactorily tried. It must be acknowledged that few members, during the years of Mr. Warburton's parliamentary life, have had a more constant experience of the convenience or inconvenience of the mode of taking the divisions than himself; for few members have been more punctual and unremitting in their attention to their duties as a representative. Perhaps we ought not to make a single exception to Mr. Warburton's prejudice. Take all the important divisions of the session, important not in a mere party sense, but in a national one (though it sometimes happens, and the present time witnesses the truth of the remark, that party interests and national interests are one and the same), and in which list will you discover the omission of Mr. Warburton's name? As we have already remarked, he never speaks when he ought to be silent, so it may be asserted that he is rarely absent when he ought to be present. He has in fact reminded us of the time which he is in the habit of devoting to his parliamentary duties, by observing, when alluding to the inconveniences of the House from bad ventilation, that "he frequently spent twelve hours there at one sitting." Mr. Warburton's natural talents and habits of business render him a desirable acquisition on many committees—a fact which, coupled with his constancy of attendance during the debates on questions of public interest, renders his assertion less startling than it at first sight appears. He has spoken of himself, on one occasion (in 1825) as "a mercantile man engaged in business for a period of twenty-five years." Mr. Warburton is a Baltic merchant.

The member for Bridport does not rank in that class of reformers who are all apathy in Parliament and all agitation out of doors. He rarely takes part in the great struggle in which the people themselves from time to time engage. He is seldom seen at a public meeting, nor is his style of oratory adapted to produce any great effect in such an assembly. He can "argue" a question, but he cannot declaim upon it. He can appeal forcibly to the reason, but he has no power to awaken the passions, or to "stir men's blood." He is a guide rather than an agitator. He can clearly and calmly explain the course which we should take, but he cannot kindle in us the daring resolution to take it. Not that he is absolutely idle as a

labourer in the cause of improvement out of doors ; as evidence to the contrary, we should refer to the prominent part which he had the honour and the merit of taking in the formation of the London University. A man who occasionally gives twelve hours out of the twenty-four to the discharge of his duties within the walls of Parliament, may reasonably be excused for limiting his exertions to a sphere within which they are so laboriously and exhaustingly demanded.

There are, however, two or three objections to the general rule of reason and justice which governs Mr. Warburton's opinions and conduct. The view which he has taken of the question of Literary Copyright, is, we venture to think, a deviation from the common-sense line which he usually observes, and inconsistent with the principles he professes, because it "carries them out" rather too far. He appears to see nobody's interest but the public's. His argument on the International Copyright Question seems to amount to this—that it is cheaper to steal books than to buy them ; whereas (leaving the morality of the argument out of the question) it is in the main a vast deal dearer. It must frankly be admitted, however, that Mr. Warburton seldom fails to discriminate with nicety, and to weigh with the most scrupulous and thoughtful care the claims of the public and the just rights of individuals.



ENGRAVED BY W. ROBINSON

Mulgrave

General Mulgrave 1797

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

IF unhappily for the world the Earl of Mulgrave had been born in the meanest and most helpless condition of life, there cannot be a question that his natural talents would have raised him from obscurity, and that, by their honourable exercise, he would have been enabled not only to administer to the literary pleasures of society but to win for himself a distinguished station among the authors of the age. But what literary honours that he otherwise might have won, could for an instant be put in the balance against the proud and imperishable distinction which must ever be associated with this nobleman's name, as the liberal Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How poor must have proved every harvest of reputation that he could possibly have reaped, in comparison with that golden fruit of fame which he has gathered, as the first governor of that distracted country who for centuries has dared to do it justice ; indulging the noble ambition of ruling by the gentle magic of the olive-branch instead of the keen and dazzling terror of the sword. Lord Mulgrave has acquired by the wisdom and virtue of his course as her majesty's representative in Ireland, a name that the most honoured and the most fortunate of his contemporaries must envy.

Before we attempt to trace the outline of the career of this gifted statesman and generous patriot, the family from which he springs claims some notice. It is generally stated by the peerage writers that this family is descended from Sir William Phipps, the inventor of the diving-bell ; but this must be inaccurate, as that ingenious person died without issue. The Earl of Mulgrave's family is, we believe, originally of Lincolnshire extraction. In the time of Charles I. Col. Phipps raised a regiment on his estate, joined the cavaliers at the head of his followers, and crowned his devotion to royalty by dying in battle. His grandson, Sir Constantine Phipps, an eminent lawyer, was, in the latter years of Queen

Anne (1710) appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, but died in retirement, leaving a son, William, who married Katherine, only daughter and heiress of Katherine, Duchess of Buckinghamshire and Normanby, who was herself the natural daughter and heiress of James II. by Katherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. Lady Katherine Phipps succeeded to the estates belonging to Mulgrave Castle, in Yorkshire, upon the untimely death of her half-brother, the young Duke of Buckingham, whose early loss is deplored by Pope in a touching epitaph, that speaks of him as one

“ In whom a race for courage famed, and art,
Ends in the milder merit of the heart.”

The son of the William Phipps above mentioned was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, in 1767, and was succeeded by Constantine John, a distinguished naval officer, who held many official situations, and was, on the 16th of June, 1790, enrolled amongst the peers of Great Britain as Baron Mulgrave. This nobleman was, in early life, the conductor of an expedition to the North Pole, then considered a most extraordinary undertaking. He was succeeded by his brother Henry (the father of the present earl) who, on the 7th of September, 1812, was created Viscount Normanby and Earl of Mulgrave, and died on the 7th of April, 1831.

Constantine Henry, the present earl, was born on the 15th of May, 1797. He was educated at Harrow. The young Constantine, it is said, notwithstanding his descent from the cavaliers, early imbibed those liberal principles on which he has so undeviatingly acted. At Trinity College, Cambridge, he took his degree as M. A. before he was quite nineteen. His coming of age, was celebrated by two important events; his marriage with Maria, eldest daughter of Lord Ravensworth, and his entrance into Parliament as member for Scarborough, a borough which had been represented by some of his family for a period of fifty years.

Lord Normanby was not long in Parliament without manifesting how widely he differed in political sentiment from his father, who had been a private friend of Mr. Pitt, and a staunch supporter of his principles. The young member could and would defer only to the opposite standard of political excellence. His maiden speech was

delivered on the Catholic Question. It was unequivocally successful; and at the special request of the Catholic board, it was published for them as a pamphlet. The very first resolutions on Reform ever proposed by Lord John Russell were seconded by Lord Normanby, in a speech of considerable length and undeniable power—the only objection taken to which, was one that must add to its merit in the judgment of reformers in these times—that it went too far in the course of Reform, and outstripped the specific resolutions he was seconding. Shortly after this, however, his lordship retired to the Continent, and resigned his seat in Parliament, “in which he had ever unhappily found his private feelings and obligations in constant opposition to his sense of public duty.”

His lordship continued his stay in Italy for two years. Having returned to England, he proceeded to devote to the cause of Reform the service of his pen. Of several pamphlets which appeared at that time, and commonly ascribed to him, one doubtless owed its authorship to him. Its title was “Remarks on the Bill for the Disfranchisement of Grampound; by a Member of the last Parliament.” Entering ably and generally into the question of Reform, it exposed the preposterous contradictions between the then distribution of the elective franchise, and the population and property of the country.

In 1822 Lord Normanby was again returned to Parliament for the borough of Higham Ferrers. Impressed with a conviction of the imperative necessity of retrenchment, and with an honourable sense of his duty as a representative of the people, he brought forward a motion for cutting off half that “plural-unit,” the joint postmaster general. The proposition was negatived upon a division by a few votes only; but in the course of the debate, the maintenance of useless offices was openly vindicated as necessary to the influence of the crown, and this was followed up by the discovery of a circular addressed by the secretary of the treasury to the members supporting government, in which Lord Normanby, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Creevy were by name denounced as acting upon a system with a view to destroy that legitimate influence of the crown. The document was brought before the House by Lord John Russell, and gave rise to an animated discussion. Lord Normanby took the unusual step of bringing the question before the House in another shape; his

motion for an address to the crown on the subject was carried by a small majority, and the duplicate office was summarily abolished. The part which he played so spiritedly and so ably in this affair sustained his reputation in the House as one of the most graceful and gallant ornaments of it that aristocracy had ever sent into the popular assembly of the nation.

Malton was the next borough for which Lord Normanby sat. His useful services were actively continued, as often as the circumstances of the time afforded him opportunities of signaling his zeal and determination as a practical friend to retrenchment and reform. His last act in the House of Commons was the introduction of a motion of inquiry into the mysterious causes which led to a dissolution of the short-lived ministry that was formed on the death of Mr. Canning. No details were elicited, no mystery was cleared up, but public attention was keenly awakened on the subject.

The ill-health of the then Earl of Mulgrave, whose end was rapidly approaching, afforded a sufficient reason why Lord Normanby should not, at the election which succeeded, contemplate resuming his seat among the representatives of the people; so that during the fierce and prolonged debates upon the Reform Bill on its first introduction into the House of Commons, he was not present to assume that leading position which otherwise he would have graced and sustained, with so much advantage to his own reputation, and to the cause of which he had been the constant and consistent advocate.

On the 7th of April, 1831, his lordship succeeded to the earldom, which he now enjoys. Thus elevated to the seat of his father in the House of Lords, he was in time to take his share in the important and necessary task of maintaining the justice of that measure, and of urging upon his fellow-legislators by hereditary right the expediency of yielding with the best grace they could command to the declared, undoubted, and irresistible decision of the nation at large. But before we proceed to trace his lordship's distinguished career, and to examine the spirit of that statesmanship which has been happily his guiding-star as the Earl of Mulgrave, we must turn aside for a few moments out of the political path, and exhibit to the reader the literary claims which, as Lord Normanby, he has established upon remembrance and admiration. His lordship gave at an early period of his life

proofs of his taste and predilection for authorship, of a lively fancy and elegant accomplishments, and of an acute observation, a keen and just perception, of the characteristics of that species of life with which by birth his lot was associated. It has been truly remarked that he has just written enough to make us regret that he has not written more; and yet we must not forget that had more time been devoted to literary composition, and to the sentimental or satirical analysis of artificial life and fashionable character, some exertions would in all probability have been withheld from that great political cause which it was the especial province of a mind such as his, so proudly placed and so fortunately developed, to uphold with its utmost chivalry and enthusiasm. We concur with the author of a sketch of Lord Mulgrave's life, published several years ago in the *New Monthly Magazine* (from which we have derived many particulars of his biography) in regarding the author of "Matilda," "Contrast," and "Yes and No," as the Froissart of fashion, one who writes what he knows, and describes what he has seen. "His novels," pursues his critic, "are actual pictures of actual scenes which will some years hence be referred to as authentic histories of national manners; confined to certain classes it is true, but no more confined than the ancient chronicler's we have mentioned." The same writer (one in whose thoughts and style we can unhesitatingly trace a mind that has bountifully enriched the literature of our time, and whose admiration and respect Lord Mulgrave must assuredly regard as constituting one of the most acceptable and valued of his honours), remarks with no less truth, that "for accuracy, for keen perception of the ridiculous, for a happy flinging of 'wit's diamond arrows,' Lord Normanby has no equal." The opening scene of "Matilda" is described as possessing all the reality of life and all the humour of a comedy; though an objection is taken to the attraction which is thrown upon guilt, in the charm with which the sweet sinner is invested. The fault of the heroine is found to consist in this—we like her too well. "Yes and No" is justly characterized as a delightful tale. The two heroes are the personifications of the negative and affirmative principles—a little too antithetical perhaps, as all abstract ideas are when embodied; but well kept up throughout. There is a very natural sketch, in *Germaine*, of a young man easily led and as easily turned; while in *Lady*

Latimer we have a perfectly wrought out character, "an admirable female delineation," delightful in its slight vanities, its yielding to pleasures however frivolous and vain, but redeeming all by a frankness, and a kindly affectionate disposition, which the world cannot spoil. There is also an excellent life-like picture of an election in this novel. *Mr. Stedman* who, "as a representative of the soil, carried an acre or two of it on his boots and leather-breeches," and "looked the agricultural interest to perfection," is quite an historical portrait. The liberal principles of the author are very obvious in many scenes of this story, which, like that of *Matilda*, has obtained the compliment of a translation into the French. The same powers of original wit and active observation, were lavished on the scenes and characters of "Contrast." Lord Normanby, besides many miscellaneous compositions in prose, and a few in verse, is the author of two charming little tales, "*Clorinda*," and the "*Prophet of St. Paul's*."

We may also mention among the elegant tastes which Lord Normanby cultivated in his less grave and thoughtful days, ere the severe and sacred duties of legislation and government had demanded the monopoly of his powers, an inclination for private theatricals, which he superintended during his residence at Florence, to the infinite delight of the society in which he moved. The plays of Shakspeare, we are informed, have rarely been produced with such taste, appropriateness, and accuracy of costume. Is this a frivolous fact to introduce as a portion of the veritable life of a great statesman? It must be a frivolous philosophy that would so deem it. An inordinate relish of such pursuits and pleasures is a vice indeed when evinced in a character that has no lofty passions to elevate and support it—no love of great purposes, no ambition to surpass others in a generous course of action; but "where virtue is, these make more virtuous," and shed that grace upon greatness which is inseparable from refined tastes and intellectual accomplishments. It may also be remarked, that Lord Normanby was strikingly distinguished by one advantage, of no little value in the cultivation of such pastimes—the advantage of personal appearance. "He has," says one who accurately describes him, "a fine, manly and expressive countenance, and his bearing is that of a perfect gentleman," without the slightest mixture of that foppery which is too often the accompaniment of fashion.

We must now turn, however, to the higher duties and pursuits, so worthy of the noblest ambition that could animate such a mind, which the changing circumstances of the time opened up to the Earl of Mulgrave, and imperatively called upon him to engage in and to execute. The cause of Reform was now so far prosperous and fashionable, as to hold out to its gifted advocate some reward for his zeal, and increased assurances of his power to cherish and advance its dearest interests.

A rebellion, which had broken out in Jamaica, rendered it necessary to select, as governor of that island, a man in whom the bravest and the gentlest qualities were happily united. The Earl of Mulgrave, thus qualified, was invited to undertake the mission; a mission which involved the gratifying and honourable office of preparing all parties—the slave-owner and the slave—for the great approaching change, which was contemplated on passing the Act of Emancipation. His Lordship sailed from England to assume the governorship of Jamaica, in June 1832. The nature of the duties that devolved upon him afforded him continual opportunities of signaling his moral firmness and personal gallantry. His decision of character, his high sense of duty, and his fitness to govern, were strikingly shown on an occasion of no slight difficulty and peril to himself—the “Unionists” having laboured to produce a mutiny among the troops through the medium of political agitation, and having so far succeeded as to create a scene of the most wild and disgraceful confusion. The governor’s address to the soldiers was in all respects admirable, and deserves to outlive the occasion. Meanwhile, the Emancipation Act was making progress in the Legislature at home; and the best energies of such a governor were all-important to the success of the grand experiment. Lord Mulgrave, by the discharge of his important and difficult duties, won “golden opinions,” and entitled himself to the respect of the planters, as well as the gratitude of the negro race. The measures which he adopted were characterized by boldness, tempered by discrimination and caution; by “conscience and tender heart;” by statesman-like forethought and ever-accessible humanity; by unbending principle, carried into successful action by conciliatory and popular manners. These had their natural tendency to smooth the way for the safe and prosperous operation of a vast and

hazardous change ; hazardous, at least, it might and must have proved, had powers of mind and influences of manner less peculiarly adapted to the circumstances amidst which they were exercised, been employed to accomplish the beneficent mission of enlightenment, emancipation, and peace.

The earl returned to England, and on the formation of the first Melbourne Administration, accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal, which he filled until the breaking up of the Cabinet in November 1834. And now, in the pleasant task of tracing the various stages of his lordship's lofty and honourable career, we have arrived at the eve of that event, which was to Ireland as the dawn of a bright day after her long "night-time of sorrow and care;" as the commencement of a new and better life, after a moral and political existence in which the wrongs and sufferings of many ages were crowded into one. On the restoration of the Melbourne cabinet in the spring of 1835, the Earl of Mulgrave ventured, with a courage inspired by the wisest and purest sense of the innate strength of justice, and the inevitable triumph of the true over the false, to undertake the most important and elevated mission that modern times have witnessed—the mission of justice to Ireland—in the character of her lord-lieutenant.

The Earl of Mulgrave landed in Dublin on the 11th May, and was received with a shout of welcome from the warm-hearted and grateful population of the kingdom whose destinies were committed to his hand, that evinced the estimation in which his character was held, and an eager anticipation of the hopes and happy prospects which he brought with him. He at once became that Irish *rara avis*, a popular, because an impartial, ruler. True it is, that Ireland has never been slow to give a welcome to her sovereign's representative, even when there was little to be hoped for from his coming ; and when by some strange chance a ruler has been chosen from the ranks of the professors of liberality, her respect has risen into ardour, her loyalty into enthusiasm. But the feeling which Lord Mulgrave kindled in the Irish heart, ere he had yet dwelt "a little month" among her people, was of a warmer, a deeper, and a more enduring character. He became the idol of the Irish, by simply abstaining from being their oppressor. Without surrendering one particle of the dignity which

the representative of royalty might be expected to preserve ; without mingling more with the multitude than might be considered graceful even in the ornament and oracle of the court ; without flattering Catholic prejudices, inflaming Catholic passions, or exciting Catholic hopes which circumstances rendered it impossible to realize, he won the confidence of the millions, and divided public applause and gratitude with Mr. O'Connell. The governor of Ireland was hailed as her guardian ; the lord-lieutenant was every where received as the legitimate liberator. For the first time in the remembrance of the existing generation—for the first time in the history of their fathers—the spirit of justice and impartiality between Protestant and Catholic presided over the councils of the state. To see impartiality and justice taking up their abode at the Castle, was, to the desponding Irish, like witnessing the return of the golden age ; the opening of a political paradise, the commencement of a new life. The phenomenon had occurred in spite of fate. They have not yet left off wondering.

It is curious to observe how much, and how little, Lord Mulgrave has achieved for Ireland.

How much !—when we look to the course which he has pursued in purifying, as far as discretion dictated and opportunity allowed, the magistracy of the country—in fearlessly dismissing from time to time the blusterers and bigots who had abused their power, and provoked to strife the peasantry they should have protected from aggression—in boldly bringing the justice himself to justice, and bidding his victim be of good heart—in refusing to entrust the magisterial office to clergymen simply as clergymen, when their presence on the bench was not needful to the administration of justice, but was naturally productive of discontent and suspicion—in revising the lists of the sheriffs, by which the infamy of the jury-system has been abated—in declining to dispatch the military on civil errands, provoking the persecuted tithe-debtor to resistance, and sprinkling the path to the Protestant church with Catholic blood—in vindicating the law by putting it in force wherever violated, and, by the detection of criminals, lessening the actual amount of crime even when it seemed to have increased—in reforming, with this view, the constabulary system, which had been the promoter rather than the detector of offences, and so uniting in it Catholic and Protestant as to give both an

equal interest in repressing outrage, whether instigated by one party or the other—in elevating Catholic lawyers of eminence even to the judicial seat, and in promoting others to vacant offices, with the assurance that the religion they had derived from their fathers would no longer preclude their accession to the ermine—in bestowing the rewards which places of trust and emolument convey upon deserving men hitherto proscribed, and making talent and character the only titles to preferment and courtly honour ;—in thus convincing the great majority of the Irish people, that while the Protestant Few should be promoted after their deserts, and protected from all invasion of their just and equal rights, the Catholic Many should no longer be the sport of justice and the victims of power—no longer be the scorn of those to whom they should look for succour—no longer be political serfs because they were faithful to their religion ; or be branded as criminals because unstained by the deep guilt of silently submitting to a lawless and insulting tyranny. How much indeed has Lord Mulgrave done for grateful Ireland !

And yet how little is all this, when we contemplate what Ireland still needs!—when we attempt to calculate the extent of her grievances, and to fathom the depth of her distress. Lord Mulgrave has done all that a kind-hearted and even-handed judge could do ; he has not only abstained religiously from every thing that could aggravate any one of the countless evils of daily endurance, but he has tried, and tried successfully, to cheer and elevate the feelings of the people, substituting a desire for peace for a sense of the necessity of strife. He has partially humanized the wild revengeful heart. He has eased the galling fetter, and sent a ray of light into the dungeon. But he has not set the limbs free, or unbarred the door. The victim to unjust legislation and arbitrary law is yet pining within. Rags are still the national costume ; Famine still sits by the fireless hearth of the peasant. Lord Mulgrave we repeat has done all that a righteous ruler could do ; but it was not in his province to prescribe the great remedy for Irish evils—to touch the seat of the disease. It was not for him, it was not in his power, to administer the grand legislative redress for the wrongs of Ireland. He has been unable even to provide against a recurrence of the injuries he *has* redressed, the revival of the corruptions he has cleared away, whenever an unhappy

change in the administration may come, and toryism may again be in the ascendant. But once more let us echo the general voice of the Irish people, he has done all that honesty, humanity and wisdom could do, in his capacity of protector and pacificator.

In the summer of 1836, Lord Mulgrave proceeded upon a tour through the southern counties of the country—through Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, where he made a brief stay; he thence paid a visit to the Lakes of Killarney, and returned through Tipperary, the Queen's County, and Kildare to Dublin. His progress was one continued triumph. Seldom had Irish feeling, strong and ardent as it is, been so enthusiastically demonstrated. Public dinners, and addresses of congratulation and gratitude, everywhere awaited him; but these were cold and common-place welcomes compared with the rapturous greetings of the half-clad and less than half-fed peasantry, who congregated from all quarters to form a guard of honour throughout the long and diversified extent of his way.

The calumny and hatred with which the once-dominant faction repaid the noble efforts of Lord Mulgrave to tranquillize and regenerate the land, were not by any means lessened when, on the death of King William, the fair and youthful sovereign who ascended his throne, dispatched a missive of love and peace to Ireland, expressing a warm approval of the policy which had been pursued by the lord-lieutenant, and a hope that it might be unremittingly continued. Such a tribute to the spirit of truth in which he had discharged a most difficult and hazardous duty, might well operate at once as a reward and a stimulant—it also operated as a fresh provocative and a more poignant sting, to the deposed party whose dark and desolating policy was thus emphatically condemned. Immediately upon the assembling of the new Parliament of 1837, the attacks which had been repeated at intervals, and directed with increasing rage, and therefore with increasing impotence, gathered themselves into a grand concentrated assault—against which the noble earl calmly stood up in his place in the House of Peers, and defended himself with a dignity only equalled by the clearness of his explanation and the patriotism of his views. His vindication was triumphant; and the “facts” of his rancorous assail-

ants were shewn to be as false as their professions and as warped as their principles.

Whatever may have been the merits of the Melbourne administration, and the merits of good intentions few will refuse to accord to it, it is beyond dispute that its protracted existence is solely the work of Lord Mulgrave. It must have long since perished, but for the reluctance to withdraw from Ireland a lord-lieutenant, who possessed the magical power of winning the popular love, while he maintained inviolate the law. The liberal government of Ireland was the redeeming virtue of the administration—the practical fruit into which its many promises had gloriously ripened. It was no less to England's interest than to her honour, that the hopes of Ireland should be cherished, and the new system of executive justice maintained in all its force. The ministry has evaded blow after blow, escaped danger after danger; for Ireland could not afford to lose so soon, her upright, her enlightened, her gentle and generous ruler.



W. H. B. sculp.

Strington.

London, 1841.

THE

RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT EBRINGTON, M. P.

A more liberal, dignified, and in every sense respectable, specimen of the aristocracy of the House of Commons could scarcely be pointed out than the noble lord who sits in the present parliament as the representative of North Devon. His lordship has an unquestionable claim to be well regarded by the party to which he belongs, not less from the consistency with which he has upheld the whig principle of government, than from his station and independence; but during the official existence of the whigs, his claim upon their estimation and gratitude has been materially advanced, as on him has devolved, in more than one period of ministerial embarrassment, the task of assembling and uniting the scattered forces of the government, and rescuing the Cabinet from the perils of a "crisis."

The family to which Lord Ebrington belongs deduces its origin from Sir Richard le Forte, a distinguished soldier in the invading army of William the Conqueror. At the battle of Hastings he protected his royal chief by bearing before him a strong shield; and thence the French term "escue" (a shield) was added to the original surname of Forte. The family name of Fortescue has been borne and graced by other men of valour, and has been dignified also by knighthood acquired through the deserts of learning. Sir John Fortescue, a very eminent lawyer and author of a celebrated treatise entitled "De laudibus Legum Angliæ," was Lord Chief Justice of England in 1442, and Lord High Chancellor in 1461; Sir Hugh Fortescue, K. B., who had been summoned to Parliament in 1721, as Lord Clinton, in right of maternal descent, was, in 1746, created Earl Clinton and Baron Fortescue. The earldom expired, but the barony descended to the father of the present Lord Ebrington, Hugh

Fortescue, who, on the 1st of September 1789, was created Viscount Ebrington and Earl Fortescue. His lordship has now reached a very advanced age.

Viscount Ebrington, his eldest son, was born on the 13th of February 1783; and in 1817 was married to Lady Susan Ryder, daughter of the Earl of Harrowby. This lady, having borne him three sons, died in 1827.

His lordship has for many years retained a seat in the House of Commons. He was elected Member for Tavistock in 1820, and being re-chosen at each successive election continued to represent that borough until 1831. At the election in the preceding year he had been returned as member for the county of Devon, for which he has ever since sat. Returned again for the county, he became its representative; and since the passing of the Reform Act has sat for the North Division. His lordship has for some years been colonel of the East Devon Militia; and is also vice-lieutenant of the county. Mr. Newton Fellowes, his colleague in the representation of North Devon, is brother-in-law to Lord Ebrington.

One of the obligations which his party owes to the noble lord, was conferred upon it at that critical moment, when, in 1831, the tory peers, headed by Lord Lyndhurst, made their grand assault upon the Reform Bill. The consequence of this movement, and the defeat of ministers, was the immediate resignation of Earl Grey and his colleagues. Then it was that Lord Ebrington, promptly and spiritedly stood up in the House of Commons, and moved an address to his Majesty, expressive of the confidence which the representatives of the people in Parliament reposed in the administration of Earl Grey. The station, fortune, and family of the noble lord naturally tended, in such an assembly as that, to give weight to the proposition, and to throw a brilliant effect upon the position which he had chosen to assume. Never was a sentiment more loudly and rapturously echoed within the walls of the House, whether reformed or unreformed, than the sentiment of sympathy with the principles and objects of the Grey cabinet, to which Lord Ebrington gave so timely and so forcible an expression. The motion was successful, the cabinet was recalled, and the Reform Bill was carried.

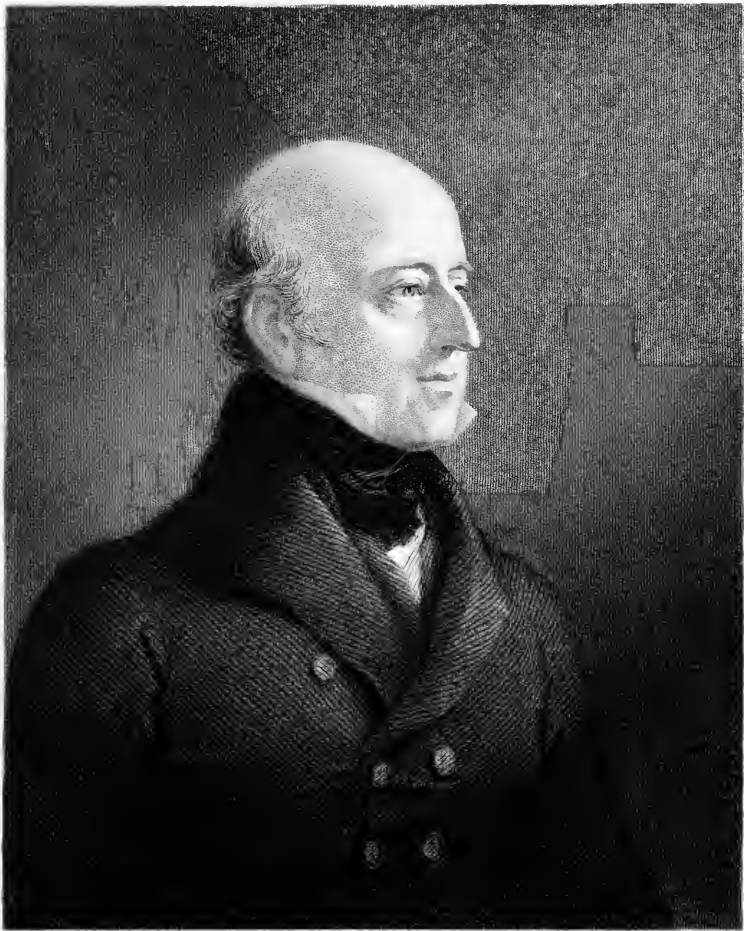
Throughout the long series of dangers and disasters to which the liberal cause (so far as it may be conceived to be identified with the maintenance of a liberal cabinet that can simply command a majority and no more) has been exposed, Lord Ebrington has abundantly evinced the constancy and sincerity of his zeal. In every time of trouble, on every occasion of danger or difficulty to the administration and its objects, the noble lord's energies and advice are always to be relied on. Even at the last meeting of ministers and their supporters in the Lower House, called to consult upon the course which the Reform majority should take in reference to the franchise under the Irish Municipal bill—whether to propose a compromise with Sir Robert Peel and the advocates of a ten-pound franchise, by advancing from five pounds to eight, thus meeting them more than half way—Lord Ebrington is represented to have taken a decided part with the more liberal reformers; to have repudiated the ministerial doctrine of concession upon such a point; and to have successfully enforced the necessity of preserving the integrity of the principle in dispute, leaving to the peers the responsibility and odium of its violations. By this, and numerous other acts of sympathy with the Irish people, and of interest in the cause of Reform, Lord Ebrington has entitled himself to the respect of reformers, as one whose views of political change and improvement are neither narrow nor timid, when we remember the aristocratic prejudices by which he is surrounded, and the inevitable bias of birth and education.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON,

M.P., G.C.B., ETC. ETC.

THE gallant subject of the present Memoir furnishes a striking instance of the success which steadiness of nerve, of purpose, and of principle, can command for the same individual in very different fields of action. Sir Edward Codrington, for more than half a century, and from his early boyhood, has been devoted to a seafaring life. Looking back, many of us considerably beyond the date of our own existence, we find him actively engaged under the flag of Nelson, amid those incessant watchings and exertions, and those brilliant victories of the British fleet, which distinguished the early part of the last great war. We find him successively employed on various services and various stations, rising from rank to rank, in consequence of his repeated proofs of courage, diligence, and skill, till he achieved his highest honours at Navarin, so recently as 1827. After so long a career in a service apparently one of the least likely to allow of the development of the qualities most necessary to success as a public speaker, and at a late period of life, to find him entering Parliament, and successfully taking his stand against the oldest and most practised debaters, as a stanch advocate for the interests of the navy, and for general political reforms, marks the gallant admiral as no ordinary person. The same qualities, nevertheless, which gave him distinction in his profession, have been those which have enabled him to accomplish in Parliament what could not have been very sanguinely anticipated; and those qualities are a singularly calm temperament and clear head, united to an energy of purpose that nothing can daunt or weary out. When we come to speak of the chief event of his life and its consequences, we shall have sufficient evidence of these qualities.

The parliamentary career of Sir Edward Codrington forms but



Geo. Hayter

1841

P. Goddington

a very brief portion of his history; five-sixths of his life have been spent on the ocean; and to trace his professional biography with anything like completeness, would require a volume. He is descended from the Codringtons of Codrington in Gloucestershire; a family which was of considerable importance so early as the reign of Edward III.: his ancestor being standard-bearer to the Black Prince. His elder brother, Sir C. Bethell Codrington, is still a resident there, having assumed the surname of Bethell on succeeding to the estates of their maternal ancestors, the Bethells of Swindon in Yorkshire. His nephew, Christopher William Codrington, Esq., son of Sir Bethell, is also Member of Parliament for East Gloucestershire.

Mr. Codrington entered the naval service, July 18th, 1785, when fourteen years of age. June 17th, 1793, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and appointed to the Santa Marguarita frigate; and soon after, at the special desire of Lord Howe, removed into the Pegasus, for the purpose of repeating his lordship's signals. He subsequently joined the Queen Charlotte, in which ship he bore a conspicuous part in the battles with M. Villaret de Joyeuse. In one of these, the encounter of the 29th of May, previous to the decisive battle of the 1st of June, he had a narrow escape for his life, being struck by the recoil of a gun, and thrown into the lee-scuppers on the opposite side of the ship, stunned, and immersed in water. He was entrusted by the admiral with his duplicate despatches relating to those engagements, and sent to announce the safe arrival off Dunnose, of the British fleet with the French prizes. In October 1794, he was made commander in consequence of his gallant conduct on these occasions, and was appointed to the Comet fire-ship, in which he continued till posted into the Babet, April 6th, 1795. He was with Lord Bridport when that officer encountered the enemy's fleet off L'Orient. He was afterwards removed into the Druid, and assisted at the capture of a French frigate, *armée en flute*, with five hundred of Hoche's body-guard on board, proceeding to join the rebels in Ireland, January 7th, 1797. He then passed into the Orion, May 24th, 1805, and continued to command this ship till December 17th, 1806. It was in this vessel that he bore a con-

spicuous part in the battle of Trafalgar, which was fought on the 21st of October 1805. In this celebrated battle, which left to Great Britain undisputed sovereignty of the ocean, but cost her the life of Nelson, Captain Codrington brought the *Orion* to the assistance of the *Colossus* against the French *Swiftsure*, and pouring a broad-side into that ship, brought down the main-mast and occasioned her to make signs of surrender. He afterwards came to the help of the *Africa* (64), against the French *Intrepide*; opened a smart fire on that ship's starboard quarter, and then wearing round upon her stern, and bringing to on her lee-bow, between the *Intrepide* and the *Africa*, whose fire, without any disparagement to her, had been nearly silenced, he maintained so heavy and well-directed a cannonade, that in less than a quarter of an hour the *Intrepide's* main and mizen masts came down, and at about five o'clock she struck, having suffered severely in the conflict.

Towards the end of 1808, Captain Codrington was appointed to the *Blake* (74), and served under Sir Richard Strachan in the expedition to the Scheldt. On this occasion he volunteered to receive the flag of his friend Lord Gardner, in the absence of his proper flag-ship. The Scheldt was forced on the 14th of August, when the *Blake*, having no pilot, grounded off Flushing, within gun-shot of the batteries, and continued engaged with the enemy for two hours and three quarters; having twice been set on fire by red-hot shot. Sir Richard Strachan and Lord Gardner commended in the highest terms the conduct of the officers, seamen, and marines of the *Blake*; and the latter pointed out with warm eulogy the assistance which he had received from Captain Codrington.

In the month of August 1810, he received a commission which demanded great prudence and fortitude. This was to remove four Spanish line-of-battle ships from Cadiz to Minorca, a measure rendered necessary by the rapid advance of the French in Spain. The ships were in every respect unfit for sea; they had only a few days' water, provisions, and fuel; their masts, sails, and yards, were not trustworthy; they were leaky from decay, and had even shot-holes unstopped. Their bottoms were so foul that they could not work to windward even in moderate weather; they were fully officered, and actually loaded with refugee passengers of high rank, although

they were destitute of useful men to assist in navigating them. However, after thirty-eight days of exertion, assisted by the *Norge* (74), Captain Codrington succeeded in conducting them into Port Mahon, where they were safely moored, and delivered them up to the Spanish commodore. Sir Richard G. Keats, who at that time commanded the squadron engaged in the defence of Cadiz, expressed his sense of the ability with which this arduous piece of service had been executed.

The tact and energy which Captain Codrington had on every occasion displayed, produced their proper effect on the minds of his superiors. Sir Richard Keats, on his return to refit at Gibraltar, immediately dispatched him again to co-operate with the Spaniards on various parts of the coast; and here again he discharged his duty in so satisfactory a manner, that in April 1811, he was entrusted with the command of a detached squadron on the eastern coast of Spain, and more particularly to co-operate with the projects in the defence of Tarragona.

The great contest was now going on in the Peninsula, which was eventually to drive the French invaders from the soil of Spain. The British and Portuguese armies under Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, were pursuing the French from post to post, while the British ships under Sir Charles Cotton, and afterwards Sir Edward Pellew, watched the coast, and were ready to intercept the French convoys and cut off the supplies of their armies in Catalonia and Valencia; while they poured in stores of every description, and, indeed, every possible assistance to their own troops and allies. In those operations Captain Codrington distinguished himself by his activity, skill, promptitude and humanity, in such a manner as laid the foundation of his future advancement. On the coast of Catalonia he rendered the most effectual assistance to the Spaniards under the Generals Saarsfeld, Lacey, and Baron d'Eroles. Under his orders, Captain Thomas of the *Undaunted*, landed his men near Cadaquirs, and made a successful diversion in favour of the Spaniards; and then proceeded to attack the Medas islands, on one of which was a fortress occupied by the French. This, which was an important post to them, enabling them to bring their supplies from France coastwise, he succeeded in wresting it from them, and placing in it

a garrison of marines. The French however, that summer, recovered many of their losses in Catalonia, and gave the Spaniards some heavy blows, the most serious of which was the reduction of Tarragona.

In the defence of this place, the English exerted themselves to the utmost, and Captain Codrington displayed an activity and ardour in bringing up troops to the aid of the Spaniards, and a rapidity of movement in conveying arms and other resources to the Spanish forces, which have few parallels even in our splendid naval annals.

On the 5th of June, the French opened batteries against Fort Olivo, and by a cunning stratagem the following night got possession of it. Their force was about sixteen thousand men, and they killed and made prisoners three thousand Spaniards. On the 6th, they destroyed an outwork called Francolli, and killed or wounded the whole garrison, amounting to one hundred and fifty-five men; and pressed on to storm the batteries of Orleans and St. Joseph. Captain Codrington had left Tarragona on the 16th of May, in quest of reinforcements. He had proceeded with General Doyle to Murviedro, where he received from General O'Donnell, two thousand three hundred men, with two hundred and thirteen artillerymen. These he conveyed with the utmost expedition, on board the *Blake*, *Invincible*, and *Centaur*, to Tarragona; each of them at one time carrying seven hundred beside her complement. At the same time he delivered to General O'Donnell two thousand stand of arms, accoutrements, and clothing, to enable him to bring into the field as many trained recruits as could supply the place of the regular soldiers thus detached from his army. This done, he hastened to Valencia, where he put on shore another quantity of arms so necessary to General Villa Campa and the *Empecinado*. By this means the army of Arragon was brought forward to act with that of Valencia. He then hastened to Alicant, where he took in as many materials for Tarragona as the ship could stow, besides eighty artillerymen, and a quantity of powder and shot, which he shipped on board a Spanish corvette at Carthagena. Touching at Murviedro again on his way back to Tarragona, a consultation was held with General O'Donnell, who agreed to place four thousand more

Spanish troops at his disposal, and to advance himself with the rest of his army towards the Ebro, to threaten the depôts of General Suchet. These troops were removed with the greatest celerity to the scene of active operations, and every means which genius could devise adopted to save the place. Captain Codrington reached Tarragona on the 7th of June, when the French were already under its walls; having in the short space of three weeks effected all these operations. But the danger was pressing; and having in the course of the day and the night landed his materials, he again sailed on the morning of the 8th. On the 9th, he joined his squadron at Pensicola, and taking on board the division of General O'Donnell's army, the whole four thousand were embarked on the 11th, and entered Tarragona on the 12th. At the request of General Miranda, he immediately conveyed him and the division under his command, in the British boats, to the neighbourhood of Villa Neuva, to join the Marquis of Campoverde, in order to threaten the flank of the besieging army. During the whole of every night the gun-boats and launches were employed in annoying the working parties of the enemy. The French vigorously pressed on the siege, and the Allies as bravely defended themselves. Captain Codrington had three thousand sand-bags made on board the ships and sent into the garrison. He had the women, children, sick, aged, and wounded, conveyed in the boats to Villa Neuva for security. Himself, with the Captains White and Adam of the *Centaur* and *Invincible*, brought off in their own boats two hundred men who had retreated to the mole after the French had taken the batteries; and landed them again at Milagro within the works at the east side of the town. Captain Codrington led the squadron as near to the mole as the depth of the water would permit, and drove the French from the advantageous position which they had gained.

But all these stupendous exertions proved in vain. The French, on the 19th of June, carried the place by assault. A panic seized the Spaniards, who had fought hitherto so stoutly, and they now suffered themselves to be butchered like sheep. They were seen flying in all directions; some sliding down the walls; others stripping off their clothes and swimming to the ships. Captain Codrington himself in describing this scene says, "A large mass

of people, some with muskets, and some without them, pressed along the road, suffering themselves to be fired on by about twenty Frenchmen, who continued running beside them at only a few yards distance. At length they were stopped by a volley of fire from a small party of the enemy, who had entrenched themselves at a turn in the road, supported by a second a little higher up, who opened a masked battery of two field-pieces. A horrible butchery then ensued; and shortly after, the remainder of the poor wretches, amounting to above three thousand, tamely submitted to be led away prisoners by less than as many hundred Frenchmen."

The launches and gun-boats had been sent from the ships the moment the enemy was observed collecting in the trenches; but such was the panic of the Spaniards that the whole was over before a shot could be fired from the boats. The humanity of the English, however, never found ampler demands upon it. Everywhere numbers of wretches were seen swimming towards the ships, or covering under the rocks, and everywhere the boats of the British were plying to pick them up and bring them off to the vessels. Six hundred miserable people were thus saved from the merciless hands of their pursuers, who had no possible hope of shelter but in the English squadron. The English captains, Codrington, White, and Adam, during these transactions, passed whole nights in their gigs, carrying on the operations for the defence; nor could the incessant fire of shot and shells deter them from their noble endeavours to rescue the unhappy fugitives. It has been truly said that perhaps on no occasion were the valour and humanity of the English more finely opposed to the cruelty of the enemy. "The contrast," says Captain Brenton, "of the British and French off Tarragona, was exactly that of angels and devils."

Notwithstanding the fall of Tarragona, Captain Codrington continued to hover on the coast, seizing every opportunity of annoying the enemy, and this desultory mode of warfare he continued through the whole of the year with great success. His conduct through the whole of this service had raised him high in the opinion of all parties, and testimonies of the most decided approbation were conferred on him by the Spanish authorities, and

by those at home. General Contreras, in his account of the siege, declared that, had he received the same support from the Spanish troops that he had done from the British squadron under Captain Codrington, Tarragona would not have fallen. Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief on the Spanish coast, praised his zeal, ability, and judgment, in the highest terms in his despatches. Letters expressing similar sentiments were received by him from the supreme junta, and other authorities of Catalonia, as well as from the British ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley. Despatches were also forwarded from the Spanish government to the English Minister of State, recommending Captain Codrington to the particular notice of the Prince Regent, for the important and signal services rendered by him during his cruise in the Mediterranean; and attributing to his "co-operation and advice a great part of the successful operations performed by the army of Catalonia."

Such services and such distinguished testimonies to his merit necessarily heralded promotion, and accordingly his appointment to a Colonelcy of Marines bears date December 4th, 1813, and in 1814, he was ordered to America, and proceeded thither with his broad pendant on board the *Forth* frigate. On the 4th of June of the same year he was advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and from that period served as Captain of the Fleet on the American station, under Sir Alexander Cochrane, whom he accompanied in the expedition up the Chesapeake; when the city of Washington was taken, the American flotilla in Penobscot destroyed, the passage of the Potomac forced, and the city of Alexandria obliged to surrender all its shipping in the harbour; also, when the combined naval and military force entered the *Petapsco* to reconnoitre Baltimore, and a most decisive victory was gained by the troops and a battalion of seamen and marines over the American army. He also accompanied the expedition to New Orleans. In January 1815, he was made K. C. B., and upon the termination of hostilities, Admiral Codrington was directed by Sir Alexander Cochrane to hoist his flag in the *Havannah* frigate and return to England. On the 12th of September 1826, he was again advanced, and appointed Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean. This appointment brings

us to the great event of Sir Edward's life—the battle of Navarin, an event which has been the subject of no little discussion, and which furnishes a striking instance of the manner in which a matter of great personal and national reputation may be embittered to the achievers of it by the force of party-spirit at home. The circumstances attending this transaction have been too eagerly canvassed, and are therefore too well known to everybody, to require from us more than a clear and concise statement.

The Greeks, long oppressed and trodden under foot by the Turks, had at length raised the standard of resistance. A war of a nature such as might be expected, under such circumstances and between such parties, raged through Greece; a war of butchery and extermination, rather than a struggle for victory regulated by the ordinary rules of warfare. All Europe was horrified by the continual news of the atrocities perpetrated on that once illustrious soil. The violence, the massacres, the violations, the burning of towns, and carrying off of wretched multitudes into foreign slavery, which were the daily exhibitions of unfortunate Greece, cried aloud for the interposition of the great powers of Europe which had derived so much of their civilization from that now wretched country. The savage struggle had gone on for years; and if such interposition was withheld, there appeared no prospect of a termination except in the annihilation of one party or the other. On this ground, during the administration of Mr. Canning, a treaty was entered into by this country with France and Russia, for the purpose, says the treaty itself, “of putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, produces daily fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states.”

The high-contracting powers, “having besides received on the part of the Greeks a pressing request to interpose their mediation with the Ottoman Porte,” therefore nominated plenipotentiaries to sign a treaty to effect the objects above named; and who agreed upon certain articles, of which it is only necessary to insert the following:—

“ART. I.—The high-contracting powers will offer to the

Ottoman Porte their mediation, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between it and the Greeks. This offer of mediation shall be made to that power immediately after the ratification of the treaty, by means of a collective declaration signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Allied courts at Constantinople; and there shall be made at the same time to the two contending parties, a *demand of an immediate armistice between them, as a preliminary condition indispensable to the opening of any negotiation.*”

Additional and secret articles were also entered into, to compel the contending parties to the observance of an armistice; and it was determined, immediately after the signature of these articles, to transmit eventual instructions, conformable to the provisions therein set forth, to the admirals commanding their squadrons in the seas of the Levant. This treaty, which was executed on the 6th of July 1827, was called the Treaty of London; and the admirals of the Allied powers,—Sir Edward Codrington, the English, the Chevalier de Rigny, the French, and Count Heiden, the Russian admiral,—having received their instructions, set actively about carrying them into effect with the utmost zeal and ability.

We cannot enter into all the various measures and transactions originating in these instructions; it is sufficient to state that Sir Edward, in the first place, announced to the fleet the existence and the nature of the treaty, and warned it that “the most particular care was to be taken that the measures adopted against the Ottoman Porte did not degenerate into hostilities.” All possible means were to be tried, in the first instance, to prevent the necessity of proceeding to extremities; but the prevention of supplies to the Turkish belligerents in Greece, as required by the treaty, must be enforced,—and, failing all other means, by compulsion; for this was the language used by the British ambassador at Constantinople when Sir Edward Codrington applied to him for a clear explanation of the views of the Allied powers in regard to the enforcement of the terms of the treaty,—“*if the speaking-trumpet will not answer, you must use cannon-shot.*”

Admiral Codrington lost no time in obtaining an interview with Ibrahim Pacha, the commander of the Turco-Egyptian fleet, when the required armistice was agreed to, but soon afterwards as readily

broken by the Pacha himself; and the Turkish fleet persisting in the endeavour to throw supplies of troops and stores into Patras,—a circumstance in direct violation of the armistice, and one which the British admiral was required by his instructions positively to prevent,—the Allied fleet did not hesitate to assume a commanding attitude. Sir Edward having assured the Pacha that any continuance of the attempt to throw in those supplies would be instantly followed by cannon-shot from the English vessels, the Turkish ships were now driven back by occasional firing into the bay of Navarin. Here Ibrahim, disappointed in his object of relieving Patras, had landed his troops in the bay, and wreaked his vengeance on the miserable Greek inhabitants of the Morea, butchering women and children, rooting up trees, and endeavouring to reduce the whole country to a desert. The Greeks appealing to Sir Edward, he dispatched Captain Hamilton to the Turkish camp, who was not, however, permitted to proceed to head-quarters, but brought back the most melancholy account of what was doing on shore. “Clouds of fire and smoke,” reported this officer, “shewed the work of devastation which was going on. The distress of the inhabitants, driven from the plain, is shocking; women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass. I have promised to send a small quantity of bread to the caves in the mountains, where these unfortunate wretches have taken refuge. It is supposed that, if Ibrahim remain in Greece, more than a third of its inhabitants will die of starvation.” In this position of affairs it was deemed by the admirals of the Allied fleet absolutely necessary to assume that attitude which should compel Ibrahim to give a reason for his infringement of the armistice; and the combined fleet therefore sailed into the bay of Navarin, and drew up before that of the Turks; the French and Russian admirals having paid the English admiral the compliment of putting themselves under his direction. This was on the 20th of October 1827. The Turkish force consisted of three sail of the line, four double-banked frigates of 64 guns each, nineteen frigates, forty-nine corvettes and brigs, besides several fire-ships, in all eighty-nine ships, with four transports, mounting 2240 guns. The combined fleet of the Allied powers consisted of ten sail of the

line, ten frigates, six corvettes and brigs,—in all, twenty-six sail, and mounting 1324 guns.

Sir Edward gave particular directions that no gun should be fired unless the Turks should commence, which were strictly obeyed, and the ships took their stations without any act of hostility. Indeed, everything having been quietly carried on thus far, all idea of a fight on board the *Asia*—Sir Edward's ship, was given up; the watch was called to square the yards, and the band was forming to play on the quarter-deck, when a firing of musketry took place into the boats belonging to the *Dartmouth*, and killed Lieut. G. W. H. Fitzroy; the *Dartmouth* then opened a fire of musketry to protect her boats. Almost at the same instant two shots were fired from the Turkish vessels astern of Admiral de Rigny's ship, struck her, and wounded one of the crew, which of course brought on a return, and the cannonade soon became general. Thus commenced the celebrated battle of Navarin, which ended in the demolition of the Turkish fleet, sixty vessels of war out of the eighty-nine being totally destroyed, and the remainder driven on shore in a shattered condition; four corvettes, six brigs, and four schooners alone remaining afloat after the battle. The loss of killed and wounded, according to the account furnished by M. Letellier, the French instructor of the Egyptian navy was, of the former 2000, and of the latter 1109. Of the Allies there were killed 175, wounded 478.

On the arrival of the news of this victory, but one sentiment seemed to animate all England. It was regarded as the certain termination of those barbarous outrages in Greece which had so long harrowed the public mind. The same sentiment appeared to pervade not only England, but the whole continent of Europe. Honours and congratulations were showered on Admiral Codrington by his own sovereign and by those of France and Russia. William IV., then Lord High Admiral, suggested to George IV. a suitable testimony of his approbation, which he immediately conferred—appointing Sir Edward a grand-cross of the Order of the Bath. The King of France, in his speech on opening his chambers, congratulated himself upon this victory, as “the foundation of the pacification of Greece, and as an accession of

glory to the arms of France." He lost no time in conferring on Sir Edward the grand-cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis—the highest honour it was in his power to bestow ; and when Captain Fellowes of the Dartmouth, deputed by Sir Edward, waited on him to return thanks for the honour, his Majesty also conferred an order of knighthood on that officer. The Emperor of Russia, on receiving the news of the battle, instantly wrote to Sir Edward with his own hand, commencing—"Vice-Admiral Codrington, you have achieved a victory for which civilized Europe ought to be doubly grateful to you;" adding, "your name from this time forward belongs to posterity:" and he concluded by informing him that he had conferred upon him the Military Order of St. George. Besides other testimonies of a like nature, he directed Count Nesselrode also to inquire of Count Heiden "how his Majesty could honour the son of Sir Edward, who was wounded in the battle, so as to prove his regard for him."

Amid all these honours, there wanted but one more to complete the satisfaction of Admiral Codrington and those who had fought with him at Navarin, and that was the usual vote of thanks by Parliament. But unfortunately, the ministry which had formed the Treaty of London was gone by—Canning was dead—and the old school of tories, with Wellington and Peel at their head, were again in power. The measures of Canning as regarded his foreign policy had been of too liberal a nature for them, and nothing could induce them to sanction them or their results. Accordingly, on the opening of the session, there appeared in the king's speech the phrase of "this untoward event," applied to the battle of Navarin, which was immediately seized upon with avidity by that party, and spread like wildfire. The Turk was eulogized as "our ancient ally," and great lamentations were made that the Treaty of London should have led to "a collision so totally unexpected." In the debate upon the address, the Earl of Chichester, Lord Strangford, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Eldon, and other tory lords dwelt urgently on these points, and the phrase "untoward event" was thrown from one side of the House to the other in multiplied echoes. Lord Holland, on the other hand, in a very able speech, ridiculed the idea of "our ancient alliance" with the Porte, defended the treaty, and maintained that Sir

Edward had acted in strict accordance with his instructions. Lord Goderich, who had been a party to the Treaty of London, Lord Lansdowne and others, defended the conduct of the Admiral. In the House of Commons a similar discussion of the question occurred on the same occasion, in which Mr. Henry Brougham said—“Against one paragraph of that address, he was most anxious to record at once his unqualified dissent; having at the same time the fullest and firmest conviction that that dissent would be re-echoed from one end of the kingdom of the other. He alluded to the manner in which the late glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement at Navarin was described, as being a matter to be lamented. This was the first time that he had ever seen men anxious to come forward and refuse credit when it had been called for, and set at nought the most splendid achievement of their arms. It had been reserved for some of the men of these times to triumph and be afraid—to conquer and to repine—to fight as heroes did, the conquest of freedom, and still to tremble like slaves—to act gloriously and repine bitterly—to win by brave men the battle of liberty in the east, and in the west to pluck from the valiant brow the laurels which it had so nobly earned, and plant the cypress in their stead, because the conqueror had fought for religion and liberty.” These sentiments were responded to by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell, the latter of whom characterized the victory of Navarin as “a glorious victory, a necessary consequence of the Treaty of London, and as honest a victory as had ever been gained since the beginning of the world.” On the 11th of February, the Earl of Carnarvon in the absence of Lord Holland, moved in the Lords for documents respecting this affair, in order to ground a claim of recompense for the officers and men. On the 14th of the same month, in the Lower House, Mr. Hobhouse moved a vote of thanks to Admiral Codrington, in an admirable speech, and was warmly supported by Sir James Macintosh and others; but the determination of ministers was so palpable, that both these motions were withdrawn.

In all these debates the Tories joined with all other members in both houses in highly applauding the gallantry and skill of Sir Edward, and the bravery of the whole fleet. They pretended, moreover, that no blame was meant to be imputed; but it could

not but be clearly felt, that it was implied that "this untoward event" might have been avoided. The error and injustice lay in blending the policy of the treaty, and the mere enforcement together. The policy might be bad—there might be many who seriously held it impolitic to weaken the Turkish power, to which we might have to look as a check upon the future designs of Russia, but the severest scrutiny only tended to shew that Sir Edward Codrington had most scrupulously acted on his instructions, and it was only just to thank him in the customary manner for the discharge of his duty. The Speech represented "the collision as totally unexpected;" but what else could be expected by sane minds? As was well expressed by Lord Lansdowne, "there was no meaning in establishing a hostile interference if we were not prepared for war." Sir James Mackintosh also as sensibly asked—"What were the admirals to do? Were they to negotiate? If they were, it must be to negotiate as admirals usually did, and as they could only do effectually, with their great guns." But through all these debates, the tories still maintained that they would themselves continue to enforce the execution of the treaty, and blamed Sir Edward for not having stopped the few Turkish vessels which escaped from Navarin to Egypt, and searched them for Greek slaves. This was, in fact, to commit afresh the very deed they were so loudly condemning. If hostilities were to be avoided, how accomplish an armed rescue of prisoners? If the act of fighting at Navarin was an outrage against "our ancient ally," this must have been another and more aggravated one. Sir Edward had, however, in pursuance of the spirit of his instructions, accomplished what our ambassadors could not do, a treaty with the Pacha of Egypt, by which those very prisoners were given up; he had them conveyed at his own charge to Greece, our consul at Alexandria having no authority from home to do so. He obtained the evacuation of Greece by Ibrahim's army, with the exception of certain garrisons; and the whole fruits of his energetic measures in the pacification of the Morea, and the clearance of the Mediterranean from piracy, were in a fair way of being ensured, when he was superseded in his command.

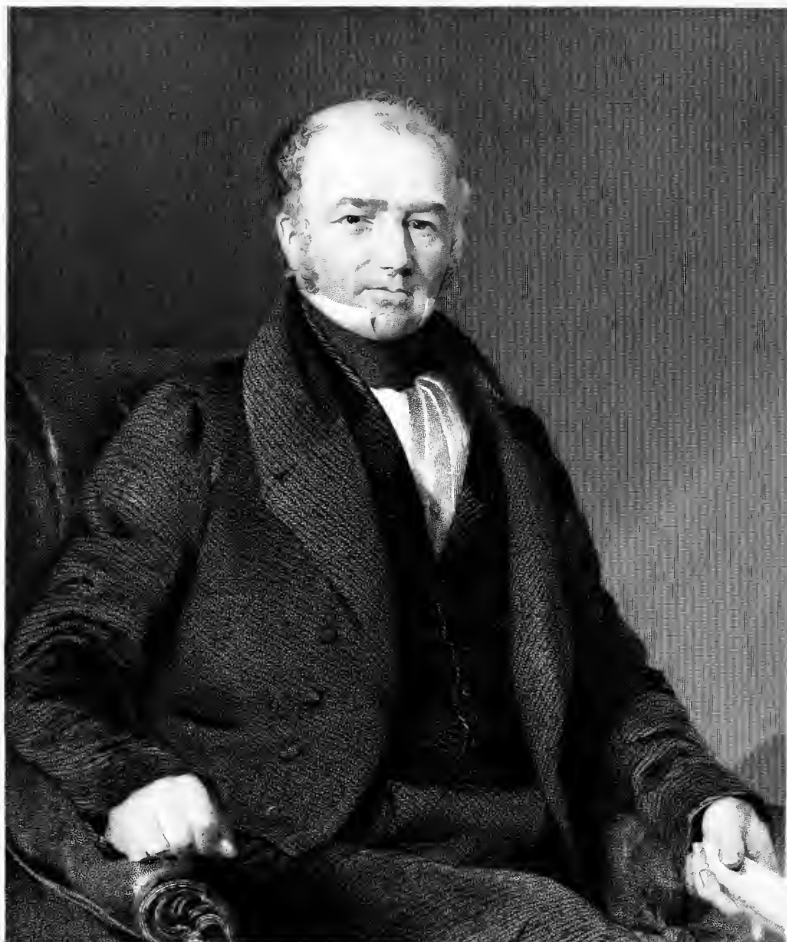
With that lively sense of honour, that desire for justice to his fellow officers and seamen, and that steady perseverance which have

always marked him, Sir Edward entered into a long correspondence with the admiralty and the government; calling upon them to declare whether any blame attached to his professional conduct; and to recompense the officers and men who fought at Navarin for their losses incurred there. Precedents in the cases of the seizure of Copenhagen, the attack of the Spanish fleet at Messina by Admiral Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, and the storming of Algiers by Lord Exmouth, were cited by him, as they had been in the debates in Parliament. He memorialized the Lord High Admiral; and again, at his own request, as King William IV.; who laid the memorial before the secretary of state, but without effect. It was said by many on the accession of Earl Grey to office that he would do the admiral justice, but those persons could not have recollected that Earl Grey was as little favourable to the administration of Canning as Wellington himself; he had been one of the most zealous echoers of the word "untoward" in the debates. A dogged inattention to Sir Edward's appeals was persisted in until he obtained a seat in Parliament; when, on June 17th, 1834, he brought forward the question of the recompense of the officers and men who fought at Navarin, and carried it, obtaining 60,000*l.* for that purpose.

The space which we have devoted to the distinguished naval career of Sir Edward, will compel us to give a very summary notice of his parliamentary one. He was elected in 1832, along with Sir George Grey, for the borough of Devonport, and has represented it ever since. A more suitable representative it is impossible for a sea-port to possess. In general politics he may be classed with the moderate but decided reformers. He would shorten parliaments, but only to three years. He is an advocate for free trade; for the abolition of the assessed taxes; and of the corn laws; he voted for corporation reform; for the reform of the Irish church; with Mr. Buckingham, for the establishment of public libraries, walks, etc. for the people; and he is an advocate for the ballot. But it is evident that he looks upon himself as more especially sent into the House to watch over the interests of the navy; and on all occasions he has proved himself their staunch advocate. While calling for the most thorough inquiry into the pension list, he has uniformly resisted the reduction of the pensions and half-pay of the naval officers, on the ground that the former will be found to have been most meritoriously earned, and

that half-pay is not given as a retaining-fee for the future, but as a reward for the past. He opposed on this principle, Mr. Hume's motion of the 14th of September 1833, for the "abolition of sinecure offices, and offices held by deputy in the army and navy." On various occasions since then, particularly on the debates on the navy estimates, he has re-asserted his opinion of the principle of half-pay, and confirmed it by reference to the decision of the twelve Judges in 1793, when the Duke of St. Albans' pay as a lieutenant in the navy was called in question. On several of these occasions he has in strong language characterized the treatment of the officers in the navy as scandalous, and their pensions as mean; and has drawn many striking contrasts between those given for signal services, and the lowest ones given for no services at all. One such instance we remember as peculiarly effective, that of Mrs. Rosamond Croker with her 300*l.* a-year for nothing; and the sister of five gallant officers who all died in active service, leaving her in charge of the children of one of them, refused a single penny from the government, though finally saved from want by an annuity from William IV. of 50*l.* a-year. On the same occasions, he has strongly commented on the hardships of the pursers of the navy. On all occasions he has been ready to draw attention to cases of alleged injustice and oppression, as that of Dr. Williams, dismissed from his office of surgeon in the navy on charges proved to be false; and that of Mr. Pearse, unfairly used in a contract for stone to construct Plymouth Breakwater.

With the leaning of a veteran officer towards discipline, Sir Edward Codrington voted against the abolition of flogging in the army and navy, though, at the same time, expressing a strong desire that some substitute for this degrading practice could be found. On the other hand, he supported Mr. Buckingham's motion for the abolishing impressment, stating, that besides being contrary to the rights of the subject, it is one of the most prolific causes of flogging, no good regular sailor requiring the lash. In his own practice he is said to be extremely lenient, and to be greatly beloved by all who have served under him. In politics he is evidently less a party man than naturally of a liberal and kindly disposition, and voting accordingly. In person he is tall, and altogether a fine specimen of the English gentleman.



Mr James

Portrait by J. G. ...

WILLIAM JAMES, ESQ. M.P.

THERE is not in the House of Commons a more honest, straightforward, and consistent reformer than Mr. James, one of the members for East Cumberland. His opinions are very decided, but they are palpably the steady results of fearless inquiry and upright conviction. We do not find him attaching himself to a mere faction, nor seeking popularity at public meetings, nor his own private advantage from any quarter. Whatever are the interests which induce the tories to battle for the continuance of things as they are ; restrictions in trade, monopoly of corn, anything in fact which conspires to keep up a high rental, those interests are his exactly as they are theirs, for he is, like them, one of the landed gentry. The bulk of his property is in land ; yet Mr. James's view of the real interests of every Englishman leads him to an exactly opposite practice to theirs ; whereby, if it would be pronouncing a harsh sentence to say that he shews himself a man of stronger integrity, we may, however, safely assert him to be a man of a clearer vision. Holding very liberal, and now very popular opinions, we nevertheless do not find Mr. James protruding them noisily on those occasions on which ambitious men seek to win public favour. Regarding himself as elected by his constituents to discharge the duties with which they have invested him in Parliament, he has continued to enjoy the quiet of a country life and the social pleasures of his own family and circle during the intervals between the sittings of the House ; but the session once opened, there has Mr. James always been found at his post, boldly advocating measures and opinions such as are eagerly attributed by the tories to landless men, who have no stake in the country ; a certain proof, however we may agree or disagree with him as to the propriety of

his doctrines, of his honest and disinterested maintenance of them. Nearly twenty years ago he was found resisting the Castlereagh tory government, and acting and voting thenceforward with the extreme radicals of the time, such as Hume, Lambton (now Earl of Durham), Warburton, etc. During the time that Mr. Hunt was in Parliament, Mr. James did not hesitate to support his motions for parliamentary reform, extension of the suffrage, the abolition of the corn laws, etc., and similar measures then held to be most horrible and heretical.

From 1820 to the present period, with some intervals when he had not a seat in parliament, Mr. James has uniformly exhibited the same bold, candid, and liberal demeanour, and his name is always to be found on the right side of the list of divisions on great and vital questions. He makes no pretensions to the character of a practical debater or finished orator; his ardent desire is to fill his place as a country gentleman of the most independent class, and, as his position has given him the power, to promote in his day and generation, principles and measures for the general good.

Mr. James is the grandson of William James, Esq., an eminent West India merchant at Liverpool, and son of William James, Esq. of the same place, by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Nicholas Ashton, Esq. of Woolton Hall in Lancashire. By his mother's side he is descended of the ancient family of Warburton of Heferton Grange, a younger branch of the Arley Warburtons, and a descendant of Judge Warburton, and of the celebrated Dr. Matthew Henry. He married in 1816, Fanny, daughter of W. C. Rutson, Esq. of Allerton Lodge, and has a family. Mr. James's father died when he was five years old, but he derived his political bias from his step-father, the well-known Col. Williams, late member for Ashton. He was born in Liverpool in 1791, educated at Eton by the Rev. John Bird Sumner, now Bishop of Chester, and afterwards took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts at Trinity College, Cambridge. His first entrance into Parliament was for the city of Carlisle, after a severe contest with Sir Philip Musgrave, of Eden Hall, Cumberland. On this occasion he was proposed by Henry Brougham, who went down purposely, and supported by Sir James Graham, whom it was his fortune after-

wards to help to eject from the representation of East Cumberland for his political apostacy. On the close of Parliament in 1826 Mr. James retired, declaring in his place in the House, that its profligacy was such that he would not continue to sit in an unreformed Parliament, if his constituents would offer him a salary of 1000*l.* a-year. He despaired of speedily seeing a reform of it; but about two years afterwards, the citizens of Carlisle prevailed upon him to stand their candidate again, to assist (for there was now a better hope) in passing a Reform Bill. They returned him, without a shilling of expense to him, but at a cost of several thousand pounds to themselves. He was returned again in the first reformed Parliament. At the close of that Parliament he again retired to private life, till Mr. Blamire, being appointed Chief Commissioner of Tithe in 1836, he was elected to succeed him as member for East Cumberland. In 1837, in a determined attempt of the freeholders to rid themselves of Sir James Graham, Mr. James and Mr. Aglionby were returned, and Sir James, to the great joy of all the reformers of England, unseated.

Our space forbids us to follow Mr. James at large through his parliamentary conduct; but a reference to the speeches and votes, will shew him to have been, for many years, the advocate of the most thorough and searching reform, abolition of the corn laws, vote by ballot, free trade, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, etc. On one or two of these points, we believe his opinions have latterly undergone some modification, and that he is now rather inclined towards household suffrage and a moderate fixed duty on corn. He firmly opposed the grant of 50,000*l.* for the coronation of the late king, declaring, in his opinion, that it was not only a shameful waste of the public money, but, at this time of day, a useless ceremony altogether. He spoke and voted in support of Mr. Ripon's motion, in 1834, for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords; and, on more than one occasion, has avowed his conviction that the separation of the church from the state would benefit the church itself.

THOMAS WAKLEY, ESQ. M.P.

It would have given us great pleasure to have here presented a pretty full narrative of the career by which Mr. Wakley has raised himself from an humble position to that honourable and responsible one which he now occupies. That, however, it is only justice to ourselves to state, Mr. Wakley has himself prevented. In drawing up these memoirs, we are determined to give nothing upon mere rumour, or doubtful authority. We therefore—as we have done in all other cases—in the first place applied to Mr. Wakley to point out to us the sources from which we might draw those passages of his earlier life which could be obtained only from persons well acquainted with his progress. Mr. Wakley most promptly and cordially referred us to Mr. James Ireland Mills, as a gentleman not only well qualified, but, he was sure, “most willing to give the required facts.” Mr. Mills wrote, assuring us that he would do it with the greatest pleasure. Relying, therefore, on these very flattering assurances, we have waited till the period of publication has prevented us from making other researches; when lo! neither Mr. Mills nor Mr. Wakley would give any answer to repeated applications for the MS. We record it as the sole instance of any thing like discourtesy which we have met with in our intercourse with the many eminent personages whose memoirs we have yet given.

But though, under these circumstances, we shall not choose to take any dubious matter, but shall pass briefly over the early life of Mr. Wakley, it shall not prevent us doing justice to his political character, and to his parliamentary conduct,—the materials for which are in our hands. Mr. Wakley has been long known as a radical reformer of the most thoroughgoing description, and for an unflinching expression of those democratic opinions which he enter-



Thomas Wakley

tains. There is not a member of the House of Commons who has better maintained that character of fearless honesty and bold advocacy of the peoples' rights which he obtained out of it.

Mr. Wakley was born at Wembury, near Honiton in Devonshire. We believe his father was a farmer there, and was living till the present spring. Mr. Wakley was apprenticed to Mr. Inledon, a druggist of Taunton; but afterwards aspiring to the medical profession, he went to London, and became a pupil of Sir Astley Cooper. He has since become well known as the editor of the *Ballot* newspaper, afterwards incorporated with the *Examiner*, and more extensively of the *Lancet*, which he still continues. His active participation in the radical politics of the metropolis for years, made him a prominent person in the eyes of all reformers; and his speeches at public meetings were distinguished by a daring and decisive eloquence, that pointed him out to the liberal electors of Finsbury as a desirable representative in Parliament. In 1832 he stood a strong contest for that borough, but was defeated. In 1835, however, he was returned by a large majority, and re-chosen at the last election. Mr. Wakley pledged himself to his constituents, on being returned, to resign his seat when a majority of the electors called upon him to do so, and moreover declared that, at the end of every three years, he would present himself to them, in order that they might express their approbation or disapprobation of his parliamentary conduct, and, if they pleased, dismiss him; so that, as far as he was concerned, they might practically enjoy the benefit of triennial parliaments. We believe that he has been at all times ready to keep his word with the electors, but they have not had any occasion to call upon him to vacate his seat.

Indeed, for a constituency approving of a radical representative, it would be difficult to find one more to their purpose. Mr. Wakley has, on all occasions, shewn himself a zealous advocate of the working classes. An open, candid, and honest denouncer of invidious distinctions betwixt the rich and the poor, especially in legislation. Many of his votes and speeches have been on subjects connected with his own profession, and on the law relating to the appointment of county coroners; but, while evidently exerting himself for the honour and benefit of his professional order, it

must be allowed he has never forgotten the benefit of the public. Among the subjects on which he has spoken in the House, may be mentioned, church reform, military flogging, the stamp duties, property qualifications, municipal corporations for Ireland, county rates, state of factories, condition of the hand-loom weavers, the new poor laws, pension list, jury laws of Ireland, counsel for prisoners,—on all which he has invariably taken an entirely popular course.

Mr. Wakley made himself conspicuous soon after his entrance into the House by his calling for better accommodations for the members of the Commons in the House of Peers when they proceeded there to present any communications,—the honourable members being heretofore required to stand; and by, moreover, declaring when summoned there to meet the King at the opening of Parliament, he would exercise the right of keeping on his hat, which he accordingly did.

The most important questions, however, on which Mr. Wakley has distinguished himself, have been those of the New Poor Law, the affairs of Canada, the transportation of the Dorchester labourers, and the calling on ministers to avow their real policy in the discussion on the Address to the House, in the opening of the first Parliament of Queen Victoria, in 1837.

Mr. Wakley, conscientiously dissenting from the principle of the New Poor Law, has not hesitated to denounce it, and to represent the appointment of Poor Law Commissioners to be absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for, and the arbitrary power committed to their hands as actually unconstitutional and mischievous. On Mr. Walter's motion for the inquiry into the working of this law, in August 1836, he made an able speech against it, and on February 20th, 1837, he seconded Mr. Fielding's motion for its repeal. On this occasion, he called attention to the fact, that the new law had been put in practice in rural districts, where the poor were ignorant and unorganized, but that in large towns its introduction had been carefully waved; and instanced the fact, that the whigs of Nottingham, in their anxiety to maintain the great principle of the bill, of giving no out-door relief, had been obliged to raise a subscription of 5000*l.* to prevent pressure on the workhouse. Lord Howick in

reply, notwithstanding, cited Nottingham as a place where the principle of the bill, of refusing all out-door relief, had been always acted on, even before the New Poor Law was passed. His Lordship must have been strangely misinformed. The principle had been tried, and had signally failed. In the case which Mr. Wakley quoted, it was felt to be totally incompetent to meet the exigencies of a large manufacturing population; and it has continued to be so felt there. In the winter of 1836, the *Review* newspaper of that town stated that one-fifteenth of the population was on the parish. That in the great parish of St. Mary, 4000 were receiving relief, and *nearly one thousand* of these *were in the house*; so that the great principle of the New Poor Law broke down in upwards of 3000 cases, at one time, in one parish, in the very town selected as a proof of the working of the principle!

Mr. Wakley's denunciation of the severity and impolicy of the ministerial treatment of Canada, was not less energetic than his denunciation of the New Poor Law; but the two instances in which he has most eminently distinguished himself in his parliamentary career, are unquestionably his appeal in behalf of the Dorchester labourers, and his speech on the address, on November 20th, on the opening of the first Parliament of the present Queen. His speech on behalf of the Dorchester labourers was said by members even of the opposition to have been one of the most effective in its impression on the House which had been delivered for years, and had no doubt a very material influence on the final recal of those severely-treated men. But his speech and motion on the address, in November 1837, will be the longest remembered, both for the excitement which it occasioned, and for the consequences to which it has led.

There was a feeling in the public mind, that ministers were not zealous in the prosecution of those reforms for which the people were looking, and on account of which they had placed the whigs in office. The ardour which they had displayed in the battle for the Reform Bill had evaporated; a lethargy had grown rapidly upon the spirit of the cabinet. Those vaunts which Lord Melbourne had thrown out of what the ministers would do, spite of lords or tories, had proved mere moonshine. While the people

were agape for some further progress, the ministers seemed nodding on their elevation in the eyes of all the nation, like a set of men weary with past efforts, and now given up to a most enormous long doze, as though their work was all done. Mr. Wakley determined to take the opportunity afforded by the assembling of a new Parliament, and the accustomed vagueness of an address in reply to the royal speech, to give "the seven sleepers" a gentle shake, and ask them the plain question, whether they thought they had done their day's work. He therefore moved three amendments on the address, pledging the House to the extension of the suffrage, the ballot, and the repeal of the Septennial Act.

Never was such a stir created by a simple motion for reforms, which had been mooted a hundred times. But the stir was not so much amongst the whigs as the radicals. With that want of union, mutual council and co-operation, which has always distinguished the radical leaders, and which has therefore, up to this moment, made them as weak as water, they were thrown into a condition of the most pitiable alarm and confusion. Alarm at what? Confusion on what account? Lest they should endanger the ministry! Lest they should appear disloyal! They did not stop to reflect, that *if* ministers were sound, *they* could not endanger them by a mere question as to whether they meant to move on or not;—their answer in the affirmative would prevent all danger, all difficulty, and would moreover give them an accession of new strength. On the opening of a new reign, it would go forth through the nation that a renewed spirit of reform was in the cabinet, and the tidings would be received from one end of the country to the other with acclamation, and with a joyful sense of satisfaction, in which both sovereign and ministers would have found their account. How could the radicals appear disloyal, if the court were what it professed—a reforming court? Under the late monarch, ministers had pleaded in vindication of their tortoise-paced policy, that there was a secret influence at work which they could not control,—here then was an opportunity for announcing the glad intelligence, that that influence had perished with the monarch; and that there was a youthful and a generous spirit on the throne, which was determined to find its glory in the promotion of the national felicity; and Mr.

Wakley's motion was, in that case, the most loyal of motions. The alarm occasioned by such a motion could only be founded in a strong suspicion that ministers *were not* sound—that the court *was not* favourable to further reform. It could be only in this case that the motion could be *ill-timed*; and if this was the fact, what did the radicals want? *Only to be deceived a little longer.*

The spirit of slumber seemed to have seized them as well as the ministers. They seemed to say in their alarm, "For God's sake *don't prove it* to us that ministers are not intending to move on. If you do, *we* must awake—we must be on the alert; our constituents will call on us to be up and denounce this base policy." Thus the radicals lost the amplest opportunity which years have offered to them, of shewing by their union, and their preconcerted resolve to support Mr. Wakley's motion, their sagacity as politicians,—they left Mr. Wakley and Sir William Molesworth, who nobly supported this motion, to enjoy the glory alone. The immediate event proved *their* sagacity. Lord John Russell was obliged to take off his mask of reformation pretence, and announce his grand doctrine of *Finality*. Every day since has only shewn more strongly the wisdom of Mr. Wakley's policy, and his very contemporary reform members are now compelled to confess that the whigs were carrying on a system of delusion towards the country which was thus demolished, and the people made acquainted with the fact, of far higher interest to them than the convenience of any ministry—that *they must reform the Reform Bill.*

On this great occasion only twenty members voted for Mr. Wakley's motion, and 509 against it. Yet who will not now say that he was right, and that we had been deceived long enough? We have not specified on this occasion the speeches of the radicals who most unreservedly condemned Mr. Wakley's act, as we are quite sure that they have long ago condemned themselves. And we shall close our brief notice of this able reformer with this *well-timed* measure; only adding, what all the world knows, that Mr. Wakley has recently, after a severe contest, been elected to the office of coroner for Middlesex.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G.C.B.

BARON TEMPLE: SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ETC. ETC.

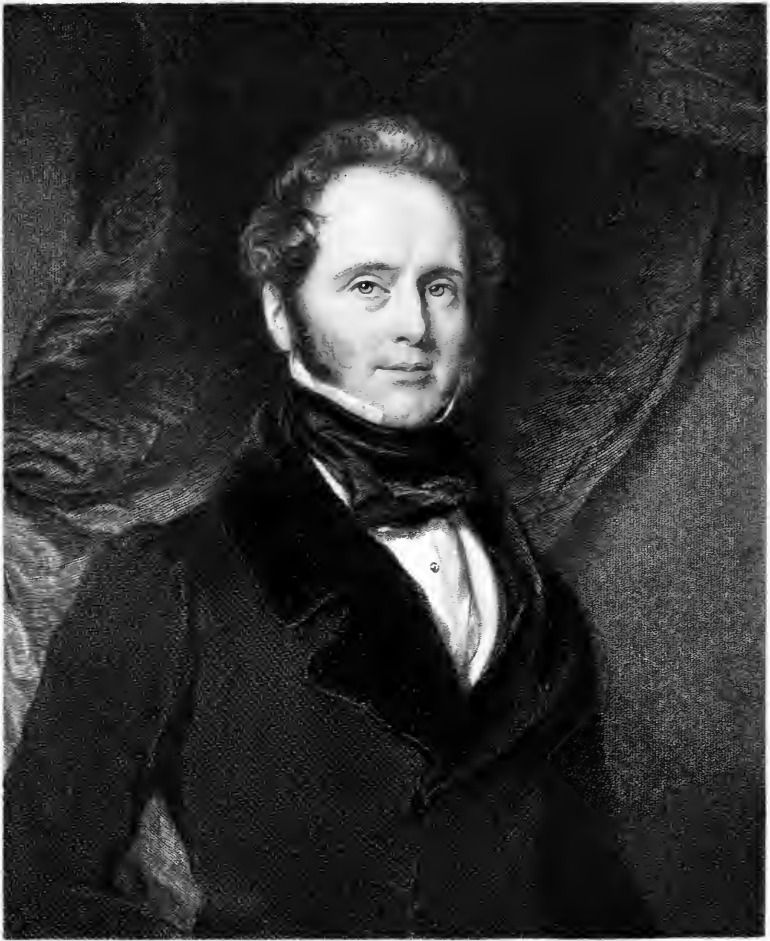
LORD PALMERSTON is of the family of the Temples, who trace up their ancestry to the Saxon period. They claim as the founder of their line, Leofric Earl of Mercia, husband to the Lady Godiva of Coventry.

More genuine honour, however, is reflected upon the line, by the celebrated and philosophic statesman, Sir William Temple; who was so conspicuous in the reign of Charles II., both as a statesman and an author. As a statesman, he maintained in a most corrupt age a high character; and as a writer, even Hume says, that "he was almost the only one that kept himself altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiousness which overwhelmed the nation."

In 1722, Henry Temple, Esq., nephew of Sir William, was created a peer of Ireland, by the titles of Baron Temple and Viscount Palmerston. Henry John Temple, the present peer, is the third Viscount. His father, Henry, the second Viscount, married Mary, the daughter of B. Mee, Esq., and had issue—Henry John, the present Viscount, William, and two daughters: Frances, who married Captain William Bowles, R.N.; and Elizabeth, who married Lawrence Sullivan, Esq.

Viscount Palmerston was born the 20th of October 1784, and succeeded to the title in 1802.

Henry John Temple commenced his education at Harrow



Palmerston

1830

school; continued it at Edinburgh, where he remained three years, under the tuition of the celebrated Dugald Stewart; and completed it at Cambridge, where he entered himself of St. John's college in 1803. While still an under-graduate, he was, on the death of Mr. Pitt, requested to stand as candidate for the representation of the University in Parliament. His opponents were the present Marquess of Lansdowne, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the present Earl Spencer, then Lord Althorp. The contest was in favour of Lord Henry Petty. In the following year he entered Parliament for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and took office under the Duke of Portland, as a Lord of the Admiralty. In the same year, upon the dissolution of Parliament, he offered himself again as candidate for the University, in opposition to Sir Vicary Gibbs, and again lost the election, by only two votes. In 1811, a vacancy occurring, he was elected by a large majority. In 1826 he had another severe contest, being opposed upon the ground of his support of Catholic Emancipation by Sir John Copley (now Lord Lyndhurst), by Mr. Goulburn, and by Mr. Bankes; upon that occasion he was successful; but in 1832, the great contest of the Reform Bill brought him and his constituents into such opposition of opinions that the connexion between them closed.

Since the moment that Lord Palmerston entered public life, the bias of public opinion has been perpetually and powerfully towards greater liberality of government principles and reform of our institutions; and it cannot be denied that on the whole his Lordship has gone with the tide. He has not, it is true, run forward violently, or in advance of his colleagues; on the contrary, he has for years acted with those whose opinions and principles of action subsequent events have shewn to have been in some degree opposed to his own. We cannot say that we are great admirers of this kind of policy; we prefer a manly and decided avowal of political opinion, and a spirit which is ready to sacrifice place, and an inclination for the business of government, to a candid and open maintenance of its principles; but we can very well understand how different views may guide a different disposition.

There may be those who are willing to “bide their time,” and in the interval are content to run with the stream ; to administer the affairs of state as well as the circumstances of the times will allow them, ready, when more favourable circumstances arise, to embrace them and promote their influence. We are quite disposed to regard Lord Palmerston as one of this description. He seems, indeed, to have acted on the spirit of his own family motto, *Flecti no frangi!*—to be bent, but not broken.

Lord Palmerston was Secretary at War in 1826, when, upon the illness of Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning was appointed Prime Minister. As soon as Mr. Canning’s appointment was declared, the tory members of the cabinet retired ; the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Bathurst, Lord Melville, and their adherents withdrew ; and a junction was formed between Mr. Canning and the whig party—Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Tierney, and Lord Carlisle entering into the cabinet. Upon this occasion Lord Palmerston became also, for the first time, a member of the cabinet.* Upon the resignation of Lord Goderich at the end of the year, a new government was formed by the Duke of Wellington ; and the Canning party, consisting of Mr. Huskisson, Lord Dudley, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Charles Grant (now Lord Glenelg), and Mr. Lamb (now Lord Melbourne), were invited to form part of that administration. They consented to do so, in order to prevent the injury which would have arisen to the catholic claims from the formation of a purely anti-catholic cabinet ; and upon the assurance that the foreign policy of Mr. Canning should be continued ; as a security for which the foreign department was to remain in the hands of Lord Dudley, while Mr. Charles Grant was to retain the Board of Trade. But four months afterwards, that is in May 1828, a difference arose in the cabinet upon a question of Parliamentary reform. East Retford was to be disfranchised. Some members of the government insisted upon throwing the borough into the hundred, and others desired to take advantage of the disfranchisement of East Retford to transfer the two members

* It is understood that Mr. Canning offered him the high office of Governor-General of India, but that he declined it.

to Birmingham, then unrepresented. Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston were of the latter opinion, and in the committee on the bill they voted for giving the members to the great town, while the rest of the cabinet voted for throwing the borough into the hundred. In consequence of that vote Mr. Huskisson and Lord Palmerston resigned, and were followed out of office by the other members of the Canning party, Lord Dudley, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Lamb. On this occasion Lord Palmerston made the following decisive and significant declaration in the House. "This country, under the administration of which my Right Honorable friend formed a part, has been raised to a point of proud pre-eminence which she never before attained. It is said that the course which we have thus so happily pursued is to remain unchanged. I trust it will. I confess, however, that there are prognostics, that there are symptoms, which inspire me with apprehension on the subject. I trust, however, that his Majesty's government will found their claim to the approbation of the people by maintaining, not in this country alone, but wherever their measures may extend, the ascendancy of liberal, wise, just, and enlightened principles. Sir, it is only by pursuing such a course that his Majesty's government can obtain the confidence of the House and the public; it is only by pursuing such a course, that they can secure the permanence of their own power."

This was a plain avowal of firm and unequivocal sentiments; and during the short period of his Lordship's connexion with the Wellington administration, the tone of his speeches had been equally bold and independent. This was on the 30th May 1828.

In February of that year, he had, however, so far conceded to the restraints of his ministerial situation as to vote and speak against the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, but he spoke in such a manner as to yield more by his reasonings than he refused by his vote, and he rested his objection to the motion, not upon any dislike to the thing itself, but upon the inopportunity of the time when it was proposed. He avowed himself a warm advocate of religious liberty, and contended that restraints on conscience were not only absurd, but perfectly useless. That we had no right nor ground to suppose that there was any necessary con-

nexion between a particular set of religious opinions and another set of political ones. That such restraints were unjust to the dissenter, and perfectly useless to the church. That the church could in these days possess no safeguard but in the learning, piety, and practical morality of its clergy; and that to seek to support it by imposing upon other sects, tests contrary to their consciences, was, so far from benefiting, the only way to destroy it, by the certain consequence of insuring the hostility of the injured. He therefore assigned as the simple cause of his voting at the present moment against the repeal of those acts, that he considered them, in fact, perfectly inoperative in practice, and that he was unwilling that the discontent of the Catholics should be increased by the removal of so trifling, or rather imaginary an evil, while their real and substantial grievances remained unredressed. The logic of this conclusion to so sensible a speech may be called flimsy, and it was through that very flimsiness that the real motive was probably intended to be plainly enough distinguished; the great questions of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform were palpably hastening to a crisis, and his Lordship did not deem the question of the Test Act of sufficient moment to occasion a rupture in the cabinet. When the Catholic Emancipation bill was forced on the ministry by the determination of the Irish, and the masterly Bank stratagem of O'Connell, his Lordship was free from the trammels of office, and he came at once forward with a force of reason and a splendour of eloquence which astonished the House and country. His speech in support of the bill produced the most vivid sensation at the moment of its delivery, and has always been regarded as the most consummate argument which was advanced in that signal debate, when all the energy of the intellect of the British Commons seemed roused into activity. The great bulk of the statements of the condition of Ireland, and the remedies which were really needed for that condition, are unfortunately nearly as true at this moment as they were then; subsequent legislation has not superseded the value of one or the other.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since the energetic sentiments of that speech were uttered, and what is yet the condition of Ireland?—one of exclusion, and disability. It is true that a poor-law is intro-

duced, that education is encouraged, that what was called " catholic emancipation " has been granted, that the government of Lord Normanby has done much to purify the administration of justice; but such has been the mass of evils heaped on that country for ages that a vast amount of " catholic emancipation " is yet needed. The monstrous protestant church yet stares the catholics in the face, with all its disproportioned revenues, and ruinous tithe system. The corporations are yet in the hands of protestants; murders of the most awful character, proclaim the discontent of the people, and O'Connell is still menacing " repeal."

In 1830, proposals were made to Lord Palmerston and to one or two of the friends with whom he was acting, to join again the Duke of Wellington's government; but he and his friends declined these offers, upon the ground that with the cabinet as it was then composed, they could not hope to be able to carry out their own opinions and views; and that unless the cabinet were to be reconstructed, and Lords Grey and Lansdowne were to belong to it, they should not wish to take office.

Lord Palmerston has filled the important post of Secretary at War during a long succession of administrations, under Perceval, Castlereagh, Liverpool, Canning, and Goderich; and under the three former, what could have been effected by any individual efforts of reform on his part? But it was a period of momentous interest, during the greater part of which we were engaged in the most terrific war in which this country was ever involved, and therefore requiring in his office abilities and business habits of no ordinary description. To fulfil well the duties of that office was to confer the greatest benefit on his country; and it is admitted by candid men of all parties that he did fulfil them ably. The very fact, indeed, of his long continuance in the same important office at such a period, is of itself a convincing proof of his masterly conduct in it; and that the Duke of Wellington should have requested him to continue to occupy the same post in his government, puts the matter beyond a doubt,—for no man is better qualified than His Grace, to judge of the requisite qualifications for a Secretary at War, and none could have had greater occasion to learn how his Lordship had so long filled the office. His conduct is

represented, by those who had the best opportunities of observing, to have been most judicious. His industry in pushing on the business of the war department, and his skill in arranging and systematizing its affairs, in bringing up heavy arrears of accounts, introducing better rules of military finance, his watchfulness to reward meritorious persons, and to render effective the whole machinery of his department, to have merited the highest praise. So far, indeed, as he had occasion to appear in his ministerial character in Parliament, he invariably acquitted himself with the utmost ability. He gave proofs, in replying to the perpetual financial attacks and badgering of Joseph Hume, that he was practically and intimately acquainted with the details of his own department. His speeches in his official character, were plain, clear, business-like, and bearing the most convincing testimony to his perfect acquaintance with his subject.

The limits of these memoirs will not permit us to notice, except in the most passing manner, the main features and events of his Lordship's public life since he held his present office. Indeed, to describe the foreign policy of the whigs, and to enter into the details of our transactions in that department, would require a volume, and a large one too. We must therefore content ourselves with saying in a sentence, that Lord Palmerston's history since the passing of the Reform Bill, is the history of the whig administration. His acts are the acts of the whig government, for he is in character and sentiment completely identified with the present cabinet. With those, therefore, who are inclined to condemn, and that severely, the whigs, for growing as they have proceeded cooler and cooler in the cause of reform, he must share the condemnation; and with those who are disposed to admit of excuses in the shape of opposition difficulties, and to look rather at what they have done than what they have failed to do, he will be entitled to an ample share of praise.

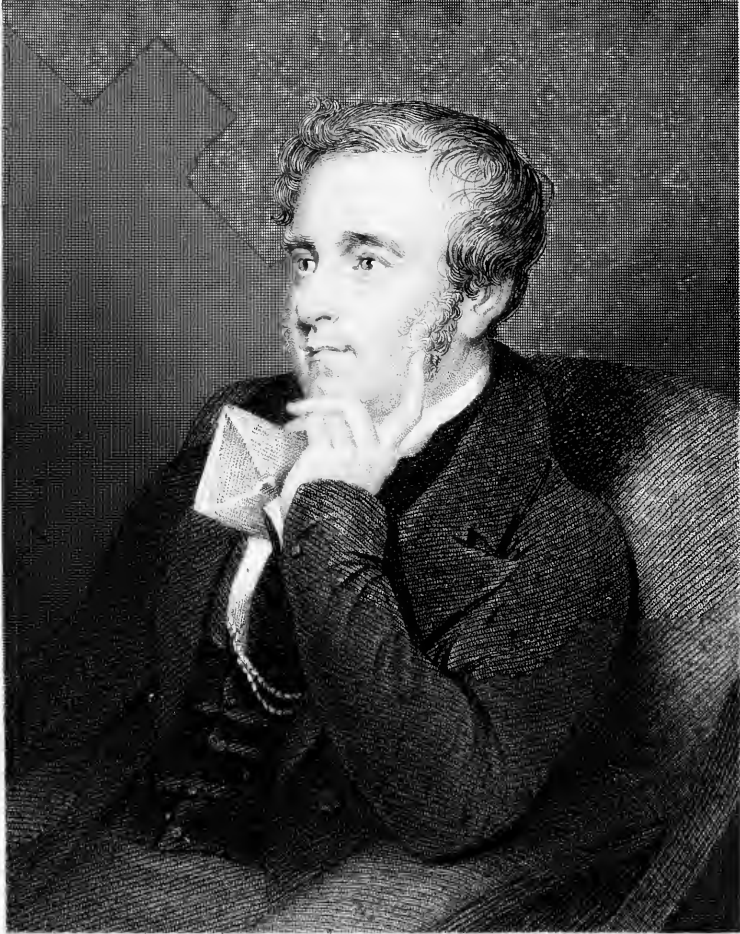
We are told by many that our foreign policy has been feeble, timid, vacillating, and has consequently brought upon us encroachment and some contempt from foreign powers. But the very reverse of this is true; our policy has been uniform, steady, firm, and successful. Peace was our first object, and we have not only

preserved peace for ourselves, but have prevented by our interposition other nations from going to war. We effected a reconciliation between France and the United States, and between France and Mexico, and we mainly contributed to bring to a final settlement the quarrel between Holland and Belgium, which threatened in its outset to involve all Europe in war. The papers laid before Parliament about Persia and India, shew that our foreign policy with regard to those quarters has been firm and consistent; on the other hand, liberal principles and popular institutions have been established in Portugal and Spain by the aid and support of the whig government, it being beyond a doubt that if the tories had been in power, Miguel and Carlos, or at all events arbitrary and despotic government, would have been triumphant in the kingdoms of the Peninsula. Nor have the commercial interests of the country been neglected; witness the treaties of commerce concluded with Holland, Austria, and Turkey. It is therefore by no means in any degree true that our foreign policy has brought upon us encroachment and contempt; on the contrary, we have everywhere asserted our rights; and England is highly and universally respected and looked up to by foreign powers in every quarter of the globe.

No one can fail to have been struck with the masterly manner in which his Lordship has defended his policy in the House in reply to the attacks of the combined talent of the tory and radical oppositions. His speeches are always marked by the most thorough knowledge of his subject, and the readiness of his rebuttance of the most complicated and ingenious charges. Some of them particularly, as his speeches on Portuguese and Belgian affairs, are splendid specimens of extempore reply. Besides these, we would refer to his speech on the foreign slave trade, on May 10th, 1838, on Sir Robert Inglis's motion on that subject; as one giving a high idea of the Noble Lord's philanthropy of disposition, and not less of his great knowledge of the subject. It is valuable as giving a clear and historical exposition of all our negotiations with the other European powers for the suppression of this infamous traffic.

Beyond the immediate sphere of his Lordship's official acts, we

may, in conclusion, allude to his zealous advocacy of the right of dissenters to admission to the universities, his declaration that “the state has an unquestionable right to deal with the property of the church,” and his support of corporation reform,—as proofs of the truth of his assertion in the House, on May 14th, 1832: “I have no difficulty in saying that I have changed my sentiments, and that I have done so from having become wiser.”



Lansdowne

Portrait of the Duke of Devonshire

Engraving by J. Smith

THE MOST HONORABLE

HENRY FITZMAURICE PETTY, MARQUESS
OF LANSDOWNE,

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, ETC.

THE career of this worthy nobleman has been so uniform and consistent, that we might almost compress the account of his public life into a sentence, by simply stating that it has been spent in the steady but temperate assertion of liberal principles. He is one of those high-minded aristocrats which no country but England could produce, at once zealous for the graduated ranks and honours, and the free spirit of the British Constitution; at once regardful of the dignity and immunities of his own order, and the dauntless advocate of the liberties of the people. We cannot point to a single individual in the titled class of this country who has more calmly, firmly, with more dignity and discretion, maintained that finely-blended character, the peer and the patriot. The talents and eloquence which his Lordship has, on many occasions, displayed in both houses of Parliament, have sufficiently testified that he wanted only a higher stimulus of ambition in order to have made one of the most prominent figures in the political history of the last thirty years; and had he been thrown, like Pitt, Burke, or Sheridan, on the necessity for public exertion, the public would, without doubt, have derived the benefit of that necessity and himself a name of pre-eminent distinction. The enjoyment of all that wealth, rank, and political influence in this country bestow, have not, however, been able to corrupt the nature of the noble Marquess, nor to lull him altogether in the lap of domestic and

social happiness; if they have, in some degree, diminished the amount of his public acts, they have left him still one of the most enviable characters on the stage of life,—a wise and upright statesman, dignified as his station requires, and patriotic as his country can wish. On all great occasions he has been ready to exert himself for the promotion of social and liberal government. His name will always be associated with those of Fox, Burke, Lords Holland, Brougham, Grey, and the Burdett of better days.

Lord Henry Petty, the son of the celebrated Earl of Shelburne by his second wife, Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, Earl of Upper Ossory, was born the 2d of July 1780. His father, who was created Marquess of Lansdowne in 1784, died in 1805, when Lord Henry was twenty-five years of age; and his half-brother, the second Marquess, dying four years afterwards, without issue, Lord Henry succeeded to the title in his twenty-ninth year.

Lord Henry Petty received the first portion of his education at Westminster school; he was thence sent to Edinburgh, and placed under the care of Dugald Stewart, with other young noblemen. Here he became a member of the Speculative Society, to which Brougham and Jeffrey also belonged; and in its disputations first tried his talents for debate. He afterwards proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge; and having completed his education, he made a visit to the Continent, under the care of Mr. Dumont. On his return he became a member of Parliament for Calne in Wiltshire. Scarcely had he entered this great career of intellectual contest, when he boldly assailed the measures of Mr. Pitt, and that with an effect which was felt both through the House and the country. It was not for any person of eloquence or intellect to vanquish Pitt in one sense at that period. He had the whole force of the borough-mongers, the majorities of Gatton and Old Sarum, the Jews whose money was all-powerful in the purchase of close-boroughs, the West Indians and the East Indians who had paid their five and their ten thousand pounds each for seats in that House, where war-taxes, imposts, and bounties, were voted at their pleasure, and all sorts of villanous stratagems were impudently resorted to, by which a sold and deluded country was made a prey of, under the name of repre-

sentative government, and plunged into wars without end, and debt without bounds. Pitt had this mercenary host of harpies and leeches at his back, and triumphed by numbers of the prettiest set of scoundrels that were ever collected into one legislative chamber, alike over reason, eloquence, honesty and humanity. But still he was capable of feeling the infamy of exposure, and the country was not deaf to the sense of its degradation. Nothing, therefore, could be more galling to the minister, or salutary to the state, than such an opposition as Lord Henry Petty commenced. He took part in the inquiry into the iniquitous and cruel war in Ceylon. He resisted Pitt's bill for raising additional forces. He energetically supported the motion of Mr. Whitbread in 1806, for inquiring into the conduct of Lord Melville, as treasurer of the navy. The impeachment of Lord Melville followed; and so glaringly was the corruption of the case exposed, that our then corrupt Parliament could not refuse to carry it. This circumstance, together with the portentous aspect of Continental affairs, appeared to hasten the death of the prime minister. On that event, his cabinet was broken up, the whigs came into power, and Lord Henry found himself, at once, representative of the University of Cambridge in the place of Mr. Pitt, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the administration of Fox and Grenville. This was a success as rapid and brilliant as the most sanguine ambition could possibly promise to itself, and which fully answered to the rapturous applause with which Fox had hailed the youthful display of talent in his Lordship. But Fox himself did not survive his great political rival many months. His colleagues found themselves suddenly, without the safe guidance of his great mind, in an ocean of financial difficulties; and an attempt to grant to the Catholics their political rights, hastened the dissolution of their government. Lord Henry now found the tide turning as rapidly as it had risen. Parliament being dissolved, his advocacy of the Catholic claims had given a death-blow to his interests at Cambridge;—he lost his seat there, and only entered Parliament as the member for the little borough of Camelford in Cornwall. The decease of his father, however, shortly after removed him to the Upper House, with the title of Marquess of Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne continued in opposition, or, at least, uncon-

nected with the ministry, from his entrance of the House of Peers till 1817, when, under the administration of Mr. Canning, he became a member of the cabinet, but held no office. In 1812, on the assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval, he was invited to take office in connexion with Earls Grey and Grenville; but owing to certain stipulations proposed on the part of the whigs, the negotiation failed; but during this long period of his continuance out of office, his Lordship found ample occasion for the exercise of his parliamentary talents and for a patriotic vigilance over the integrity of the constitution. From the date last specified commenced the dismal reign of the Liverpool, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh junta. After the termination of the war, national distress grew to a fearful pitch. Taxation and ruined manufacturers spread destruction and starvation through the country. Instead of relief, by reduced expenditure and wise measures for the restoration of commerce, the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended; spies and fomentors of sedition were sent through the country by that odious ministry; famishing men were stimulated to riot; the soldiery was let loose on the people; the prisons were filled with innocent men; and the liberties and prosperity of England seemed about to expire together. During this dark period there was great need for men of upright minds and fearless hearts, to withstand and denounce the bloody and destructive policy of this miserable oligarchy, and amongst such truly noble men, none stood with a more benign and firm dignity than the Marquess of Lansdowne.

One of his first acts on his accession to the peerage was to resist successfully an attempt on the part of the Lords to restrict the Regent from any creation of peers during his regency. In 1814 he carried a motion for an address to the Prince Regent, praying him to take more effectual measures for enforcing the act for the abolition of the slave trade. In 1818 he strenuously resisted a bill of indemnity, intended to shelter the base instruments of those illegal acts on the part of the government during the wretched period to which we have alluded; and this because the principle of the bill was alleged to be, to indemnify for *acts dangerous in themselves*, but justifiable *for reasons of state which could not be disclosed in evidence!* His Lordship most justly and laudably protested

against such principles of government, and succeeded in, at least, preventing the extension of the bill to Ireland.

During this dark period he drew the attention of government to many important subjects. In 1820, he moved for a committee, to take into consideration measures necessary for the protection and extension of our foreign trade; and must have astonished the ministers of that time, by recommending our abolition of all prohibitory duties; a relaxation of our navigation laws; permitting any nation to export to this country, its own produce in its own ships; and an entire abandonment of the transit trade. He ridiculed the ministers' regulations tending to prohibit the importation of timber from the north of Europe, and to confer a bounty on that of Canada. He pointed out the vast advantages to be derived from a more liberal system of commercial intercourse with France; but, above all, from the repeal of the absurd charter bestowed on the East India Company, by which our own merchants were expelled from the Indian seas, while those of all other nations were permitted to trade there; and we were compelled to give enormous prices for India produce, but especially for tea. He shewed that a boundless field of enterprise was yet to be opened in that region, and of mutual benefit to the natives of that and of this country. He took the same view of South America.

Englishmen are greatly indebted to Lord Lansdowne for pointing out and insisting upon these most important matters. The attention which he thus awakened has led to the greatest results, and will produce yet more extraordinary ones. The subject was immediately taken up by the Commons, and in June of the following year, his Lordship had the pleasure of presenting to the Lords a report upon it by the Commons Committee, when he took the opportunity of calling the attention of the peers to the striking facts contained in it on the silk trade with India, and of pointing out to them what must be the consequences of a free trade with India, even in this one article, the raw material of which was no where found so excellent as in our Indian territories.

Within a few days of this time he again introduced the continued atrocities of the slave trade to the House, and exposed the base

subterfuges by which foreign powers, who had entered into treaty with us to abandon it, still carried it on.

In 1822, he took occasion, in reply to Lord Liverpool, on his motion for an inquiry into the causes of the agricultural distress, to scout the nonsensical dogmas of the political economists, that taxation is rather a benefit than a burden to a country, asserting that it was taxation which pressed heavily on the country, and prevented its recovery from the distress under which it groaned.

In June of that year, his Lordship called the attention of the peers to the condition of Ireland, and took a most comprehensive and elaborate survey of its consuming evils, and of the remedies needed. From the liberal and humane feeling, the enlightened views, and vigorous judgment of his Lordship, added to his connexion by birth and property with the country, and intimate knowledge of it, no man was more capable of laying this most important but difficult subject before the country. He went through all those topics which have since so continually occupied the attention of Parliament with so little result. It is lamentable to think, that seventeen years have since rolled away, and that such a mountain of the miseries then so vividly described by the Marquess of Lansdowne as weighing on Ireland, should yet remain!—the excess of population and poverty,—the underletting of land,—absenteeism,—the tithe system, and all the trials and murders proceeding from it. Mr. Grattan, in the debate on the policy of ministers towards Ireland, on Wednesday, April 17th, said, “It is just fifty-five years ago since a proposition was made in the Irish House of Parliament to lay the grievances of the people of Ireland before the throne, and to call for redress; and now, at the expiration of fifty-five years, he was sorry to say that Ireland remained still in the same state.”

Betwixt this period and 1828, when Mr. Canning came into power, perhaps the most important act of his Lordship’s political life was again calling the attention of the government to the affairs and position of South America, and urging upon it to acknowledge the independence of those provinces which had actually attained it. It is well known that this, however, was left to become the boast of George Canning, whose perception of the advantages and *eclat*

attendant on this act, may, nevertheless, be fairly supposed to have been sharpened by the previous exertions and energetic demonstrations of Lord Lansdowne.

We have already stated that his Lordship became a member of the cabinet during Canning's administration, but without holding office. On the death of Canning, the country confidently looked for the government being put into the noble Marquess's hands; but in this it was disappointed. Lord Goderich was appointed Prime Minister, and Lord Lansdowne merely occupied the post of Home Secretary. The short duration of that administration is well known; and from this period, to the formation of the Reform Ministry under Earl Grey, we need only allude to his Lordship's manly and characteristic speeches on the abolition of the test and corporation acts, catholic emancipation, and for parliamentary reform, in 1831. We extremely regret that the limits assigned to this memoir will not permit us to go into the masterly arguments with which, on these occasions, his Lordship advocated the cause of civil and religious freedom; but they were such as placed him in the foremost rank of philosophical reformers. The unanswerable manner in which he handled the arguments of the opponents of reform, is the more remarkable, because up to this period (as he himself stated in his speech) he had never, on any occasion, given his support to any motion for parliamentary reform. Having, however, once satisfied himself of its necessity, he lent it his most hearty support; and, after combating his enemies most gallantly on the second introduction of the bill to that House, on April 11th, 1832, he had the satisfaction of seeing it carried, after the most violent contest on record, and the temporary retirement of the ministers who had introduced it. Of these ministers he was now one of the most distinguished, having been appointed Lord President of the Council on the formation of Earl Grey's administration, November 22d, 1830. This office he still continued to hold on the retirement of Earl Grey, and the succession of Lord Melbourne to the premiership; and retains it to the present period. The acts or opinions of his Lordship in office have not been so far distinguished from those of his colleagues as to require particular mention. As we have observed of Lord Palmerston, he must share the praise or blame of

the administration with which he is connected, as they may appear, to different readers, deserving. His Lordship has always shewn himself an advocate for temperate church reform, most liberal in his opinion of the dissenters, a stanch supporter of the New Poor Law, a defender of the Irish Coercion bill, and of the government measures regarding Canada; a friend of education. A more entirely upright and right-minded man we do not believe to be in the peerage; and in private life he is represented as of kind and courteous manners; ready to promote the interests of art and literature, and to contribute to the general happiness and improvement of society.



Durham

James Durham
1791-1840

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

JOHN GEORGE LAMBTON, EARL OF DURHAM.

ONE of the finest spectacles which the political world can furnish, is that of a young man of aristocratic station standing forth as the champion of popular principles. There is something very beautiful in the youthful generosity and enthusiasm which instinctively lead him, whose interests and active influences seem all combined with one particular and privileged class, to overlook, with a noble scorn, the gilded barriers which limit the vision of ordinary natures, and to fix his earnest gaze on the broad needs and rights of humanity. The very act argues a high and healthy nature ; and the youth who thus stands forth is in the true path of truest glory, if he have but a mind as firmly tenacious as it is thus primarily conscious of the right. There is no scene more melancholy than that of the gradual dimming, corruption, and decadence of such a nature in the progress of life ; and none so glorious as that of its persistence and triumph over the seductions, the sophistries, and the gross interests of the world. It is only the entire contest, however, which proves the man. Youthful ardour, first perceptions of the glory of pure patriotism, long retaining their influence, the very zeal for virtue which the contest for it amid noble coadjutors and before an admiring people, creates, have borne on many a man through a long career, to a high pitch of reputation, which after all has proved an ignis fatuus. Such a brilliance of action in the fore-part of life, necessarily excites lofty expectation in the public. Patriotism is expected to become still more splendid, virtue still more dignified. As the mind of the gifted man gathers maturity, and as experience offers him tact and wisdom, who does not hope to see him become

more steadfast in his integrity, more able to wield the weapons of truth, more serenely easy in the satisfaction of the past, and confident of the future? But not one in a thousand justifies these anticipations in his favour. The trial comes when the meridian of life is turned. Then, when the flush of youthful feeling has vanished; when the first proud throbs of righteous victory have subsided; when the sneer of the sordid multitude has made virtue to the ordinary eye look like folly, and the long acquaintance with base practices has diminished indignation at their baseness; then, when ease begins to have its charms, and flatteries become soothing, then is the crisis. All history shews how few are they who pass it with safety. None but the very noblest natures endure it, and rise up to the rank of those who are "blessed because they continue to the end;" and take their station with the little shining band of the immortally, because the morally, great. One sinks into apathy, and goes out like the snuff of a candle; another, at that sober age, discovers that worldly wisdom is the only wisdom after all; a third flies off at a tangent because his former admirers have found something to disapprove or criticise in his acts or opinions, revealing the unfortunate fact, that personal ambition, after all, was stronger in him than patriotism; and scores besides sink into the sloughs of office or of avarice, and disappear, like the herd of possessed swine, into the sea of vulgar oblivion.

We are not going to apply all these remarks in the present instance: on the contrary, the subject of our present memoir has yet the years before him which must crown or discrown his past high career; they have been forced upon us by looking over the biography of the mass of statesmen and popular leaders; and we sincerely hope that the days are coming which may afford to Lord Durham the opportunity to realize in the most perfect manner the hopes which he himself has raised. Never was the beauty of a generous debût, such as we have alluded to, more strikingly shewn than in his own case. He entered Parliament at a period of peculiar political gloom, in 1814, and at the age of twenty-two. It was when the long Continental war, by engrossing the attention of the English people, and by creating a fictitious prosperity here at the expense of

all the rest of Europe, had enabled the Tory government to carry its principles of despotism and rapacity to the most unparalleled extent. But it was also at the time when this false position was about to come to an end, and peace to reveal to the startled gaze of the public the gulf of debt and of manufacturing ruin in which it had left us. It was when Castlereagh and his coadjutors were playing, and about to play, those fantastic tricks of tyranny which have stamped on Toryism the brand of everlasting infamy. The dauntless front and the bold voice of the young patriot, were at once raised against the maxims and deeds of this vilest of administrations, and drew on him immediate popularity.

The present Earl of Durham was then but plain Mr. Lambton. His family had for many generations been distinguished, and latterly wealthy commoners, in his native county. In several memoirs of his Lordship which we have read, the writers are at great pains to prove to us that the Lambtons have been of Lambton, on the same estate, and holding the same name, from the days of the Conqueror, although the destruction of the family documents in the civil wars leave no direct evidence of the fact prior to the twelfth century. We, ourselves, do not care a farthing whether Lord Durham's ancestors can be traced till the days of the Conqueror, or could not be traced to those of his grandfather. We can any of us trace our pedigree up far beyond that, even to Adam, the first of gentlemen. There are thousands of country squires, and thousands who are no squires at all now, who can boast of as long and splendid an ancestry as his Lordship, who will not be remembered beyond their own parish, when they are dead, for any good they have ever done in their lifetime; and who will take off his hat to a beggar, or drop a penny more into his greasy cap, because he can shew that he had ancestors, and those ancestors had land? The honour of Lord Durham is of another sort. It is the genuine honour of having stood up for the principles of political and civil justice, of having recognised the rights and the abilities of the working class, and for having been the first to frame a definite and practical plan of Parliamentary Reform. The parentage and the coronet of John George Lambton, except inasmuch as they are reflected in his own merit, are mere

spangles and tinsel in comparison to the pure gold of his patriotic acts. Nevertheless, Lord Durham comes of a good stock — men not merely of family and pedigree; but good sound patriots, and active labourers for their country's weal.

Several of Lord Durham's ancestors were in Parliament; and his father, William Henry Lambton, of Lambton, not only succeeded *his* father in the representation of the city of Durham, but continued to hold his seat during his life. He was a stanch and zealous reformer, and was distinguished for his ability, even amid the blaze of the eloquence and popularity of Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Sheridan. He signed, as chairman, in 1792, "The Declaration and Address of the Society of Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform." He defended the principles of that society, which included the present Earl Grey, Whitbread, Sheridan, Macintosh, Lord Lauderdale, Erskine, Tierney, Major Cartwright, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and all the decided reformers of the time. He was opposed to the war into which the legitimatists plunged this country with France; was the earnest advocate of Negro freedom; and spoke for the last time, in 1795, against the bills for altering the laws regarding treason and sedition. He died at the early age of thirty-three, leaving several children by his wife—Lady Ann-Barbara-Frances Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Jersey—of whom Lord Durham, the eldest, was then only five years of age. Mr. Lambton, now Earl of Durham, was born in 1792; was educated at Eton and Cambridge; and at the age of twenty-two became representative of the county of Durham in Parliament. He had married, in 1812, Miss Cholmondeley, who died in 1815, the year after he entered Parliament, leaving him three daughters. In the following year he married Lady Louisa-Elizabeth, second daughter of Earl Grey, by whom he has had five children.

Having thus briefly noticed these domestic facts, we may pursue uninterruptedly the political career of Mr. Lambton. Some of his first appearances in the House of Commons were in vindication of the rights of nations. England, in 1814, became a party in the treaty for making over Norway to Sweden, and assisted by her arms to compel the submission of the Norwegians to this arbitrary

arrangement. At the close of the same year, by a similar treaty, Genoa was made over to the King of Sardinia. Against both of these transactions, so disgraceful to England, Mr. Lambton protested in the most indignant and impressive manner. In 1818, he resolutely opposed the Indemnity Bill which Castlereagh and his colleagues brought in to protect themselves from the consequence of all their unconstitutional proceedings, branding it as "the closing of an old bad account, only to open a new one which was worse." In the same session he resisted vigorously the infamous Alien Act; and had soon to defend from its effects General Gourgaud, who was residing in London, and was suddenly seized and dragged from his bed in the night, by the tools of government, under its sanction. The state of public affairs in 1819 had arrived at a most alarming position. The people, borne down by misery, thrown out of employment by thousands and tens of thousands, now saw the treachery of that war-cry into which they had been deluded. They saw everywhere rents raised, food dear, the Corn Bill passed to keep it so, and by inevitable consequence, to cut off foreign demand for their labours. They saw that a monstrous debt of eight hundred and fifty millions, with an annual taxation of fifty-three millions, was laid upon the country; and that it had been created, not by the votes of their representatives, but by the venal representatives of Jews, jobbers, and boroughs, some of which owned no inhabitants but owls and hogs. They met to petition against this state of public robbery and mockery of the people,—to petition for reform and for a chance of bread. Their prayers were met by troopers, by the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, by the prosecution of all newspapers which dared to advocate their cause; by the imprisonment of every active liberal, and the insult of every man of rank and standing who dared to utter a word of sympathy with the general cry of misery. The gaols actually swarmed with reformers. Sir Francis Burdett was prosecuted by the government on charge of libel. Major Cartwright was immured in Warwick gaol; there was a demand for more troops to tread down the murmurers. Earl Fitzwilliam was stripped rudely of his office of Lord Lieutenant of the county of York, for presuming to attend a county

meeting where the conduct of Ministers was condemned ; and, to crown all, the soldiery rushed upon the inhabitants of Manchester, when met for a perfectly constitutional purpose, and committed the slaughter which is well known by the name of the Manchester Massacre.

Through all this period, Mr. Lambton's bearing was bold and patriotic in the extreme. In spite of frowns and menaces, the significant treatment of Earl Fitzwilliam, and the gagging Bills of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, he, on every opportunity, denounced the ferocious conduct of Ministers. At a public meeting in his own county he spoke with the energy of a genuine patriot. He declared that the principles of the Bill of Rights had been violated ; that the people had been butchered for acting on those principles. "The laws had been violated by those who had sworn to obey them ; English blood had been shed by those who were originally leagued to defend them from the common foe." He "hoped they would relate these facts to their children and to their children's children ; they would be written in the annals of our country in letters of blood." He alluded to the words, "*Liberty or Death,*" which had been inscribed on the banners, and which had been treated as traitorous ; and said that "when the time arrived that the coupling of those words should be deemed the harbinger of rebellion, he should be glad to disown the country which had given him birth." When Parliament met, he maintained the same language, and opposed the Bills then brought forward to sanction the seizure of arms, and effectually to crush the liberty of the subject. He stoutly vindicated the people, and repelled the accusation that the men of Northumberland and Durham were training, to the amount of 15,000. Amongst the little band of stanch patriots who then stood forth in Parliament to stem, if possible, the desperate attempts of the Government, to reduce this country to a military despotism, none acted a more conspicuous part, or won more popular applause, than Mr. Lambton. Not only were Ministers bent to destroy the constitution, stifling it in the very blood of the people, but they as recklessly lent themselves to the infamy of enabling that chaste monarch, George IV., to disgrace

and expatriate his queen. Mr. Lambton was one of those who here, too, dared the royal displeasure, and withstood fearlessly the servile baseness of the ministry. In order, if possible, to rescue the nation from this deplorable abyss of dishonour and distress, he immediately proceeded to make known his scheme of Parliamentary Reform; and, after the delay occasioned by the death of George III. and the dissolution of the Parliament, he formally brought it forward in 1821.

Much discussion has taken place in the public journals respecting the difference between this Bill and the one brought forward by the Grey administration, of which Lord Durham was a member, and to whom that also was attributed. It has been urged as a proof that Lord Durham had retrograded in political liberality during that period, because the first Bill included household suffrage and triennial parliaments, and the last restricted the suffrage to Ten Pound householders, and left the septennial term of parliament untouched. We have not in our very limited space here, room to go into the question, nor do we deem it of the importance attached to it; for if the Bill got clipped in the hands of the Whigs, subsequent experience has shewn that there were plenty in the Cabinet ready to assist in that work; while Lord Durham for himself, at the Glasgow Dinner in 1835, again reiterated his own unchanged political creed of household suffrage, triennial parliaments, and the ballot.

The great merit of Mr. Lambton's movement for reform in 1821 was, that he followed it up by the introduction of a specific and clearly drawn bill. It was not that he advocated doctrines until then unurged, for almost every principle of Reform had been again and again pressed in the House of Commons for nearly a century, *i. e.* from the motion of Mr. Bromley, the member for Norwich, in 1734, for the repeal of the Septennial Act, to that of Lord John Russell in 1819 for the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs, and the transfer of the franchise to certain large towns. The abolition of these boroughs, the extension of the principle of representation, the curtailment of the duration of parliaments, the reform of the modes of election,—all the great features of Reform, had

been dwelt on by Mr. Carew, Sir John Glynne, Pitt, Flood, Grey, Sheridan, Curran, Brand, Burdett, Holland, Lansdowne, the Marquis of Blandford, and many others. Nay, poor "Old Glory," who has of late years cut so lamentable a figure as a drivelling renegade to Reform, persisting laughably, if any thing so pitiable can be laughable, in the midst of the most ranting Tory speeches, "that the times are changed and not he," even Sir Francis had far outgone Mr. Lambton, making repeated motions for ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS and UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, especially in his celebrated motion of June 2d, 1818, on which occasion he quoted triumphantly the words of Burke, that "the virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons consist in its being *the express image of the feelings of the people out of doors.*" That it was not made to be a control *on* the people, but *for* the people, and concluded with this remarkable assertion: "He could see no danger from the exercise of universal suffrage, unless it could be supposed that all the people would go mad when they became free; and would abuse their liberties for the purpose of destroying their own happiness."

Mr. Lambton, though he did not go so far as this, rendered the cause of Reform the important service of methodizing and defining those great principles which many of the most eminent Reformers had held, embracing triennial parliaments, household suffrage, and the admission to the franchise of leaseholders and copyholders; and of framing these principles into a Bill, which might stand as a luminous document of reference. If he were not so extreme in his opinions he was more clear in his annunciation, and has continued more consistent in his maintenance of them. Pitt soon fell away, Burdett has fallen miserably, and Lord John Russell has acquired the unenviable appellation of "Finality John."

Before Mr. Lambton's bill of 1821, nothing could be more loose, desultory, and inconsequent than the manner in which the Reformers brought forward their subject: now a motion for an inquiry; now for abolishing certain boroughs; now for purifying elections; never one well digested and comprehensive scheme of Reform. The superior clearness, grasp, and boldness of mind displayed by Mr. Lambton to that of his companions may be readily perceived,

comparing his career with that of Lord John Russell. That very small, but for many years very clamorous Reformer, at the period of Sir Francis Burdett's motion on the same subject in 1819, was then just so far advanced as to declare that "he could not agree with those *who opposed all and every system of Reform.*" He was just got to the magnanimous point of being willing to "disfranchise the most notoriously corrupt boroughs," but, "he could not go the length of a general inquiry into the general state of the representation, *because that would cast a slur on the country.*" Lord John, however, came anon to cast this slur, nay, in the very session ensuing on that in which Mr. Lambton had introduced his bill, (*i. e.* in 1822), his language had undergone this wonderful change: "I will broadly state that, not only is the House bound to consider whether parliament represents the increased importance of the middling, the manufacturing, and the commercial classes, but also, whether the government generally keeps up with the increase in strength and knowledge of the people; *for I will assert that no government can be stable, which does not keep pace with the increasing improvement of the people over whom it presides; and that any government which fails to make such advances, must soon come to final ruin.*" He considered these positions so trite and self-evident that he scarcely thought it worth while to make them; adding, that if such opinions were resisted, "they would *have the certain effect of rendering the government odious in the eyes of the people.*"

It must be admitted that the people have advanced no little in knowledge and improvement since 1822, yet here is this very man now telling them that they shall have no further "keeping pace with them" on the part of the government,—no ballot, no household suffrage, no triennial parliaments—*the bill is final!* If his language is changed in one sense it is awfully just in another, it is prophetically true; "the government is become odious in the eyes of the people," and hence Chartism and general discontent.

We cannot charge Lord Durham with change, however we may regret that he has not moved faster with the need of the times. In the long interval betwixt this period and the passing of the Reform Bill, we cannot point to much active conduct. Ill health is said to

have been one great cause of inaction; yet there are some circumstances which demand honourable mention. He defended spiritedly Sir Robert Wilson, when so summarily dismissed from the army on account of his conduct at the funeral of Queen Caroline; and he subscribed one thousand pounds to aid the Spaniards in repelling the French invaders. In 1828, he was so unphilosophical, however, as to fight a duel with Mr. Beaumont in an electioneering squabble; a sort of settlement of a disputed point which ought to be left to drunken Irishmen, and healthy idiots. In the same year, but we presume not in honour of this sapient exploit, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Durham, of the city of Durham and of Lambton Castle. In 1833, he was created an earl.

The year 1830 saw the Whigs in office. Earl Grey became premier, and Lord Durham was appointed Lord Privy Seal, and became a cabinet minister. The time was now come for the carrying of the great question of Parliamentary Reform. The Whigs accepted office on the understanding that they were to bring in a bill for this purpose. Lord Durham has generally had the credit of framing this bill; and he has since been accused by the Edinburgh Review of "clipping and paring" it down to the degree of narrowness apparent when compared with his bill of 1821. As we have, however, observed, we may safely lay the charge of clipping and paring to those other members of the cabinet who, both before and since, have evinced no great zeal for a very extensive Reform. What had Lord John Russell advocated before? Merely the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, and the giving of representation to large towns. Yet was he chosen to introduce the bill in the House of Commons; was made leader of the House; and now people wonder that he proves scarcely a Reformer at all! Could anything else have been reasonably expected? It is, indeed, deeply to be regretted that the Reform Bill should have fallen so far short of Lord Durham's bill of 1821: this, instead of household suffrage and triennial parliaments, giving us only a 10*l.* householder's franchise, and leaving the old septennial parliaments in being; by which, as it has proved, the actual benefit of the Reform Bill was entirely nullified, and the real work of Reform still to be done.

Lord Durham's former bill, on his own calculation, would have given votes to about one million and a half of persons in this country, whereas this bill gives votes to little more than half a million, or about one-third the number which Lord Durham, in 1821, deemed justly qualified to exercise an elective discretion.

Lord Durham, however, nobly supported his father-in-law, Earl Grey, in the vehement contest which the introduction of this bill produced. Immediately on its introduction into the Commons, Lords Wynford and Wharnclyffe attacked it by anticipation in the Lords. On this occasion, on the second reading of the bill, and at every future stage of its progress, his lordship defended it with a force, an eloquence, and a vast store of statistical and historical knowledge, which gave the highest opinion of his talents and character to the nation. His speeches on these occasions, as well as that with which he introduced his Bill of 1821, are deserving of being perused and kept in remembrance by every man who would possess himself of an adequate idea of what the Tories had done for this country; to what a condition they had reduced it by their unprincipled wars, unprincipled taxation and peculation. He observed, in his famous speech on the second reading of the bill, that, soon "after the Revolution, the National Debt amounted to 16,000,000*l.*: at the end of the last war, in 1814, it had risen to nearly 800,000,000*l.* The national expenditure had increased, during that time, from 5,600,000*l.* to more than 94,000,000*l.*; the poor rates from 1,000,000*l.* to 7,000,000*l.* In one reign alone, that of George III., 27,000,000*l.* were lavished in subsidies to all the great powers of the continent. In the same period the naval and military expenditure amounted to 928,000,000*l.*—that is to say, the luxury of indulging in war cost this country a sum little less than *one thousand millions!*"

In the course of these memorable speeches, his lordship drew a striking picture of the growing intelligence and wealth of the middle classes, proving to the House that the property of the middle classes nearly trebled that of the higher classes, though the Duke of Buckingham had thought proper to describe them as paupers. He might, indeed, have said more than trebled it, for

according to Colquhoun's calculation, so far back as 1814, the income of the productive classes amounted to 294,555,147*l.*, that of the unproductive only 137,966,225*l.* He assured their lordships that it was by these classes that, in all the large towns, the literary and philosophical institutions, the charities,—in fact, all associations for the advancement of arts and for the amelioration of mankind, were supported; and that at all public meetings the wealthy and titled found the members of these classes not merely their equals, but their superiors in knowledge.

On this occasion he gave a severe and long-merited castigation to that most turbulent prelate, the Bishop of Exeter. This man, when a member of the Chapter of Durham, had denounced him, then Mr. Lambton, as a political firebrand. He now was made to writhe under a rebuke so lacerating that it occasioned the most electrical sensation in the House, and threatened to put a stop altogether to the debate. Never was the Right Reverend Father's style so accurately described as by the words, "coarse and virulent invective—malignant and false insinuations—the grossest perversion of historical facts—decked out with all the choicest flowers of his well-known electioneering slang."

The feeling produced by this stern infliction, nevertheless, was dull compared with that elicited by the just rebuke administered to Lord Brougham at Edinburgh, on the 15th of September 1834. At the memorable dinner given to Earl Grey on his retirement from office, the reformers—who were now beginning to suspect that all was not right in the cabinet; that they had not got so signal a boon in the Reform Bill as, in their first burst of enthusiasm, they fondly dreamed; that the Whig ministers were, in fact, what they have been every day, for five long years since, needlessly impressing on the world, that they are mere painted images of reformers, motionless as so many barbers' blocks—were astonished to hear Lord Brougham deliberately assert that though "many hasty, over-zealous spirits, of some honesty but of no reflection at all, complained that ministers had not done enough, *his own deliberate opinion was* that they had done too much rather than too little; and that, if they had done little in the last session, he feared

they should do less in the next!" On this Lord Durham replied, "My noble and learned friend has been pleased to give some advice, which, I have no doubt, he deems very sound, to some classes of persons—I know none such—who evince too strong a desire to get rid of ancient abuses, and fretful impatience in awaiting the remedies of them. *Now, I frankly confess that I am one of those persons who see with regret every hour which passes over the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses.*"

At this emphatic declaration, so in accordance with the heart of the whole body of the people, the most astounding applause broke out. The enthusiasm flew abroad every where. On all sides towns sent invitations to the patriotic Earl to dine, and to receive popular honours. On the 29th of October, a great dinner was given at Glasgow. The people assembled to welcome and congratulate him in a dense mass of more than a hundred and twenty thousand. The people, whom, on many occasions, Lord Durham had eulogized, now eagerly regarded him as their political saviour. A Radical journal of the time announced,—“The Earl of Durham, by his declaration at this dinner, has fairly put himself at the head of the liberal party. His declarations are for *triennial parliaments; vote by ballot; an extension of the suffrage; and free trade!*” A powerful sensation was, in fact, produced throughout Europe; and had Lord Durham so willed, nothing could have prevented him being borne on the shoulders of the people into the highest post of government; and by his hand might long ago have been accomplished the abolition of those “recognised abuses” under which the country still groans, and groans in vain. It was a crisis such as rarely arises in the life of the most ambitious, and never can come twice to any man. It was one of those moments which may be snatched from heaven, for the salvation of a nation, and the immortal honour and benediction of him who dares greatly for the good of his race. The artful ministers, alarmed at the ominous scene before them, as if they would confess that his Lordship was himself kindling into too much warmth for their safety, contrived to send him to cool in more northern latitudes; first in Russia, and subsequently in Canada. But it was the Earl’s own act which did more than all,

On his return from Russia, in 1837, the king was dead; the young Queen was on the throne, and the Reformers, who had been taught to associate with her the idea of a more liberal government, now looked confidently to Lord Durham to take the helm. The Reformers of the north made a direct appeal to him, and his celebrated reply to the letter of Mr. Bulbey, struck down at once the hopes of the people to the dust. He assured the Reformers that though his opinions were, and ever would be, unchanged, he had always qualified the expression of his sentiments with the condition of "never forcing them peremptorily or dogmatically on the consideration of the government or the parliament." "How vain, then," was the universal feeling, "his lordship's regret over every hour which passes over recognised and unreformed abuses." What reform, what national good, was ever wrung from any government except by the demand for it being pressed dogmatically and peremptorily upon it? Was not the miserable portion of reform which we have obtained, the result of a stern struggle with government of nearly a hundred years? Was it not at last forced, not merely on the parliament, but even on the monarch? Was not Catholic Emancipation, was not the Abolition of Slavery, dragged from the grasp of government by public opinion and demand? A man who will not press his opinions peremptorily on government, where a nation is suffering vitally from its apathy and injustice, may be a good man, but cannot be a minister of more value than those we have got. Such was the public feeling, and it may be safely asserted, a feeling, accompanied by a deeper mixture of disappointment than has touched the public mind for the last ten years.

The most recent public act of the Earl of Durham has been his mission to Canada, armed with high powers to frame a new and salutary constitution for that unfortunate colony. Of the attack of Lord Brougham, on Lord Durham's acts in pursuance of his arduous duties, and of the base desertion of the ministers of the man they had sent out on this great object, we have not here space to state the particulars. They will fill a more ample page. We can only express our conviction that his Lordship accepted the office

with the most patriotic intentions, and that though his measures were rendered abortive by a treacherous government, he has in his Report laid bare the causes of Canadian discontent; and prescribed for them the most effectual remedy.

Lord Durham has on all occasions manifested the most liberal principles; he strongly contended, in 1834, that the proposed University of Durham, should be founded on principles which allow Dissenters to educate their children there; in the same year presenting a petition from Dissenters in the north, he complained of the meagre relief proposed by Lord John Russell; and he used all his influence to obtain a charter for the London University. If he has not always kept pace in political activity with the high public expectation which his talents and independent sentiments have raised, we believe much ill health and severe domestic losses may furnish too substantial an apology.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

HENRY RICHARD VASSAL, LORD HOLLAND.

LORD HOLLAND is one of the most consistent, honourable, and useful whig noblemen that this country has produced. The nephew of Charles James Fox, and the maintainer of the liberal principles of government which that great statesman held—Lord Holland has led a life of combined literary taste and political utility particularly worthy of an English peer. From first to last of his parliamentary career he has been the dignified, yet zealous advocate of civil and religious freedom. Whenever the interests of the nation, or of any considerable portion of its people were at stake, he has always been found in his place in parliament, ready to give his voice for the freedom of person and opinion; for the liberty of blacks or whites, dissenters or catholics; and to rebut, with the whole force of a sound mind, the miserable and mischievous schemes of toryism; while in his own private circle he has been continually surrounded by men of literary and learned reputation, especially of those who embraced the whig interests. It is supposed that Lord Holland has been no inconsiderable writer in the *Edinburgh Review*; but more than that is certain, that the influence of Holland House has for a long period been felt to pervade most sensibly the pages of that journal.

Jeffrey, Macintosh, Macauley, Brougham, Rogers, Moore, Byron, Crabbe, and such men, have always been the familiar frequenters of Holland House. Lady Holland, a woman of personal figure and active mind, has, and we believe very justly, been always supposed to exert an influence on the literature and opinions of her circle of no trivial kind.

Lord Holland is the son of Stephen Fox, the second Lord Holland. He was born at Winterslow House in Wiltshire, on January 21, 1773. His parents died during his infancy. He was educated by his guardians first at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church College, Oxford. There he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1792. On coming of age, he took his seat in the House of Peers, but deferred entering on any decided political career till he had

extended his knowledge of politics and man by travel on the continent. He had also strong literary tastes, which he purposed to indulge and perfect on his tour in the south of Europe.

His illustrious uncle, Charles James, furnished him with abundance of introductions to the different courts and eminent men of the continent; and he set out to visit Copenhagen, France, and Switzerland. In France, he witnessed the national excitement occasioned by the attempt of Louis XVI. to escape from the kingdom; and was present when the unfortunate and humbled monarch, after his being brought back from Varennes to Paris, was induced to accept the constitution then framed by the National Assembly.

The state of that part of the continent being unfavourable to the prosecution of his more immediate views and tastes, his Lordship returned to England, and in 1793 embarked for Spain.

Lord Holland made a long and industrious survey of Spain. He studied, with the ardour of youth, and of that literary passion which had always distinguished him, the works of art and genius, the condition of the government and of the people. With the exception of Valencia and Catalonia, he may be said to have made the tour, and examined into the state, of the whole of that country; and while the charms of the climate, the scenery, and the literature not only led him to find the highest enjoyment there, and to plan future visits to it, the miserable machinery of its government, and the ignorance and wretchedness of the people, strengthened in him the love of free and popular rule. He passed on from Spain to Italy; and lived some time at Florence with Lord Wycombe, the elder brother of the Marquess of Lansdowne. In 1796 he returned to England; and in 1797 was married to Lady Webster, daughter and heiress of Richard Vassal, esq., and on this marriage he assumed her maiden name of Vassal.

His Lordship having now apparently settled down to a permanent exercise of the duties which his station demanded from him, in the following year, (1798,) assumed an active position in the House of Lords. It was that period of national disaster, to which we have had so continually to refer, when the iniquitous attempt to force upon the French people *our notions of right*, our impertinent inter-

ference in the remodeling of their constitution ; when we, who had cut off the head of Charles I., and driven James II. from the throne and kingdom, took upon us to insist that the French should not use a similar liberty—should “not do what they pleased with their own,”—that Lord Holland commenced his parliamentary career. It is true that he was not, amid all the corruption and rapacity of the times, without able, though few coadjutors. In one House or the other, there were Lansdowne, Fox, Grey, Lambton, Lauderdale, Erskine, Sheridan, Whitbread, Philip Francis, and such spirits. Amongst these his Lordship at once shone forth, worthy of the cause and of the name of Fox.

His first appearance in the House was in opposition to the Assessed Tax Bill, which Pitt then brought in to enable him to seize more graspingly on every man's substance, to carry on that ruthless war for which, with all its subsidies abroad and its host of official harpies at home, all the resources of populous and commercial England were found too little. In the course of his maiden speech, Lord Holland ably exposed the ruinous career of ministers, and the fallacies by which they continually sought to delude the people into a continuance of that career. In a second discussion on the same subject, he replied to the assertions of Lord Grenville, who accused him of wishing to overturn the constitution—the perpetual cry of these champions of money-borrowing, taxation, and coercion—these sticklers of the constitution of Grampound and Old Sarum. His Lordship happily retorted, that “he would not say a word against the constitution ;—he would never speak ill of the dead !” He had soon another occasion to reiterate the crimes and bloody course of ministers. The Duke of Bedford moved a vote of censure on the cabinet on these accounts, and Lord Holland warmly supported him, declaring that the rashness of ministers had brought the nation into the war, and their impotence and incapacity had rendered the war, more than any other, shameful and disastrous. He exposed the wicked and lawless extravagance with which they had subsidized foreign powers in this quarrel.

In 1799, he had to stand forth against Pitt's bill for suspending, for the fourth time, the Habeas Corpus Act. It was impossible for him or any man at that period to stop any ministerial measure,

however destructive of the liberty or the lives of the people : but his Lordship did what he could ; he boldly denounced the bill, and entered his protest against it when passed. From this time till the Peace of Amiens, occurring in the next year, Lord Holland was strenuously occupied in resisting similar measures of encroachment on the rights and the pockets of the people. The Income Tax, the Tax on Funded Property, and the Restriction of the Press, each and all, received his most determined opposition. He adverted on the last occasion to the injuries already inflicted on publishers and editors of liberal works and journals, and instanced particularly the cases of Gilbert Wakefield and the Editor of the Courier. His Lordship, moreover, did not confine himself to public vindication of Gilbert Wakefield, but frequently visited him in the King's Bench prison, as also did the Duke of Bedford and Charles Fox.

His Lordship soon after moved the House for an Address to the king, praying him to put an end to the war; a measure which, though it was resisted at the moment, was soon afterwards carried into effect, through the temporary retirement from office of Pitt. The last public act of his Lordship prior to the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens, was that of calling for an inquiry into the causes of the disgraceful failure of the expedition to Holland. The peace being ratified, he once more seized the opportunity of visiting his favourite Spain. He could now take France also in the way; which, from the time it had been closed to Englishmen, and the changes which had taken place during the great contest in which the whole of Europe had been engaged with it, was naturally a scene of great interest, especially to all engaged in directing the course of political events. He set out with Lady Holland and his family, and at Paris was joined by his celebrated kinsman, Charles James, with whom he was introduced to Napoleon, then first Consul. During his stay in Paris, he had frequent intercourse with the leading men of the time; amongst them, Lafayette, Talleyrand, Chevalier D'Azara, and the Marchese Lucchesini. On his arrival in Spain, he fixed his residence at Barcelona. He continued nearly three years in that country, enjoying the luxuries of the new field of literature there laid open to him. Political commotions, however, would not permit him to rest there. The safety of

himself and family required him to hasten to Lisbon, where he spent the winter, and returned to England in the spring of 1805.

Scarcely had he reached home, when he was called to assist in impeaching Lord Melville, the first Lord of the Admiralty, for his extravagance in naval contracts, and other mal-appropriation of the public money; of which charges, a corrupt majority pronounced Lord Melville—not guilty; yet so clear were the proofs of his guilt, that the government were, in spite of this decision of the peers, compelled by public opinion, to dismiss him from the Admiralty, and strike him from the list of privy councillors.

Lord Holland, as Lord Privy Seal, formed part of the short administration of Fox and Grenville, which was broken up soon after the death of Fox by the king, to whom the ministers proposed Catholic Emancipation. On all occasions, Lord Holland has displayed the most perfect sense of the divine right of religious liberty. Catholics and Dissenters have always seen him ready to stand up and contend for the enjoyment of their own opinions. On this occasion, and also when, in the following year (1808), numerous petitions were presented for Catholic Emancipation, his Lordship advocated this cause with the sound arguments both of justice and policy. In 1811, on the attempt of Lord Sidmouth to alter the Toleration Act, he discharged the same duty to the Dissenters; and, as on a former occasion, he had declared that instead of septennial Parliaments, he could wish to see them triennial, or even annual, so now he proceeded to lay down the principles of religious liberty, on as broad and liberal a basis; protesting that, so far from consenting to restrict the freedom of preaching and teaching, “he held it to be the unalienable right of every man who thought himself capable of instructing others, to do so, provided his doctrine was not incompatible with the peace of society.” Between this period, and the peace in 1814, his Lordship had repeated occasions to advocate this right, both on behalf of Dissenters and Catholics, and he made a strong and reiterated attack on the law of libel and *ex officio* prosecutions.

His Lordship again seized the opportunity on the return of peace to visit once more the continent. This time he spent several weeks in Paris, and then took his route over the Alps to Milan, Bologna,

Florence and Rome, where he wintered. In the spring he proceeded to Naples, and then returned through the north of Italy, the Tyrol, and part of Germany and the Netherlands. At Naples, he, with his fellow-travellers, the Duke of Bedford and the Marquis of Conyngham, was presented to Murat, then king of Naples. On his return to England in 1816, one of the first of his public acts was to expose the harsh treatment of Napoleon in St. Helena. He made in the following year, a formal motion for the production of the papers on this subject, and reprobated in strong terms, the act of having placed the illustrious prisoner under the surveillance of such base hirelings as were set over him. Lady Holland equally distinguished herself by her attentions to the fallen Emperor, who acknowledged the kindness by a valuable gift, accompanied by these words, "L'Empereur Napoleon à Lady Holland, temoinage de satisfaction et d'estime."

We must now rapidly bring our memoir to a close. The most prominent acts of Lord Holland's public life since this period have been his able support of Earl Grey's motion in 1821, for inquiry into the conduct of the Allied Powers in their aggression on Naples; his support of Lord Lansdowne's Unitarian Marriage Bill in 1824; his joining Canning's administration; his defence of that circumstance in 1827; and his indefatigable endeavours to procure the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, which was finally effected in 1828. Add to this, his Lordship's steady advocacy of Parliamentary Reform, and that he became a member of Earl Grey's cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which office he still continues to hold in the Melbourne Cabinet, and we have as full an outline of his Lordship's political career as our limits will admit. A more consistent or honourable one has rarely been seen. His abode in Spain, and love of its literature, induced him to write the lives of Lope de Vega, and Guillen de Castro; and besides these, he has written the preface to Mr. Fox's Historical Fragment; the Account of the Suppression of the Jesuits, published in Doblado's Letters on Spain; edited Lord Orford's Memoirs; and translated the twenty-fifth canto of Orlando Furioso, and the Seventh Satire of Ariosto, published in Mr. Stuart Rose's Specimens; besides other literary productions.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
 GEORGE-WILLIAM-FREDERICK HOWARD,
 VISCOUNT MORPETH,

SECRETARY OF STATE AND KEEPER OF THE PRIVY SEAL OF IRELAND,
 ETC. ETC.

LORD MORPETH is one of those men who, born to high estate, nevertheless determine to win a reputation of their own by deserving well of their country. His Lordship is the descendant of the house of highest ancestry next to royalty in England; he is—in a word—a Howard; and by family marriages is also connected with many of the most distinguished branches of the nobility; as the houses of Rutland, Cawdor, Durham, Stafford, etc. His sisters are the Duchess of Sutherland, the Countess of Burlington, Lady Dover, and Lady Lascelles. Yet his Lordship, no doubt, subscribes to the well-known couplet of Pope:—

What can ennoble knaves, or fools, or cowards?
 Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.

He has therefore taken care to *ennoble* himself. He has from the earliest possible date of his life, devoted himself to those pursuits which at once elevate to genuine rank, keep his mind from stagnating, and leave behind a man the word “well-done!”

His Lordship is the eldest son of the Earl of Carlisle, and grandson of that Earl of Carlisle who received so severe a handling from Lord Byron, because when he was his ward he took so little notice of him, he not then being the celebrated poet, but only the limping heir of a very poor barony. Lord Morpeth was born April 18, 1802, and is consequently in his thirty-eighth year. At Oxford he passed through his educational career with great éclat, and



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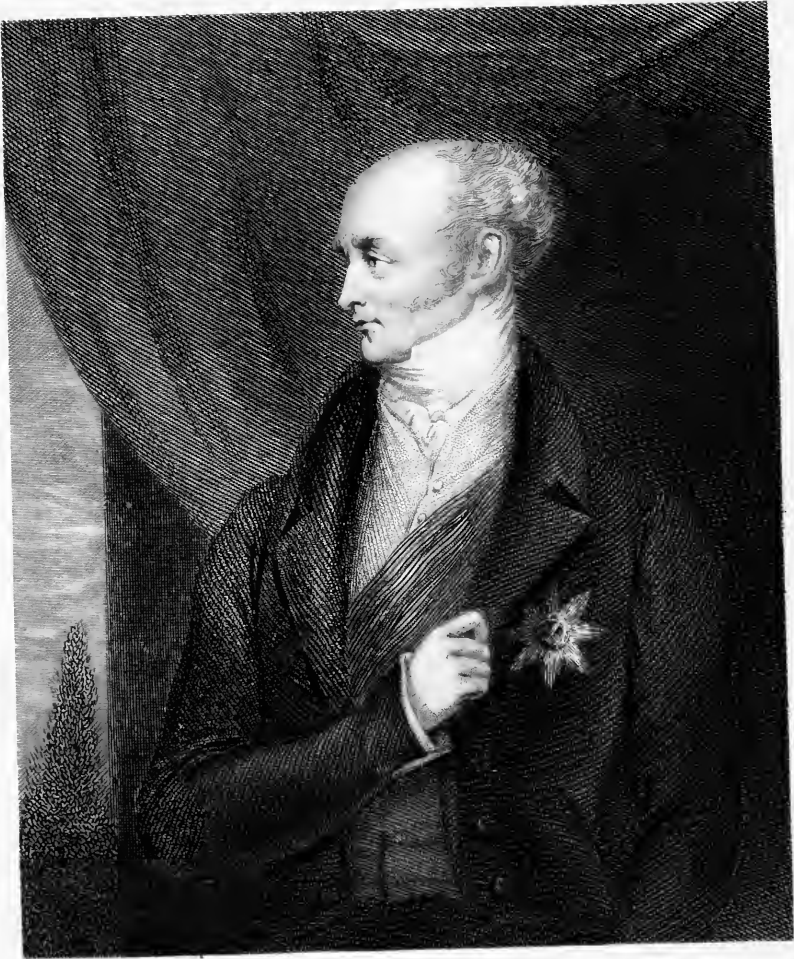
then distinguished himself by several elegant productions, as emulous to rival the fame of his celebrated ancestor, the poetical Earl of Surrey; the common ancestor of his house, of the Howards of Corby Castle, and of the ducal house of Norfolk. Politics, however, soon compelled Lord Morpeth to abandon these, probably, more congenial studies, and entering Parliament very young, he soon distinguished himself as a liberal whig. His political principles, indeed, could not fail, from his descent and family connexions, to have a decided whig bias; his father being so thoroughly of the same sentiments as to be included by Earl Grey amongst the members of his administration, and his mother being a daughter of the late Duke of Devonshire, and sister of the present Duke.

Our limits, unfortunately, do not permit us to follow his Lordship so fully as he deserves in his parliamentary course. In Yorkshire, for which he has long been a representative, he has always maintained the highest popularity. He is an advocate for the freedom of religious faith. On the difficulty occurring of permitting Mr. Pease, the quaker, to take his seat in the House of Commons, without the customary oath, his Lordship introduced a bill by which members of the Society of Friends, and also Moravians, are allowed to take office under government or to serve on juries, on their affirmation.

On the reconstruction of the Melbourne ministry in 1835, he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and while Lord Mulgrave was earning the greatest popularity by his liberal conduct as Lord-Lieutenant there, his Lordship, it must be allowed, was always ready in the House of Commons to support his measures, and defend them when assailed by the perpetual acrimony of ousted and disappointed toryism. The weight of moving all those great measures which have been proposed for Ireland, and so few of which have been carried into effect by the whigs, has fallen on Lord Morpeth, and in endeavouring to carry them through parliament he has shewn both the greatest temper and ability. We can do no more than merely allude to the chief of those measures. The Constabulary Force Bill—The Irish Church and Tithe Bill—The National Education Grant—The Corporation Reform Bill—

The Poor Law Bill. Of these, the Poor Law, the Corporation, and the Tithe Bills, are nearly all that have passed, and those in a meagre and mutilated condition. Perhaps the Tithe Bill is the one that may be said to have most effectually answered its purpose; though but a fragment of that great original measure of Church Reform prepared for Ireland by the whigs, it has put an end to those horrid and bloody affrays which were perpetually harrowing up the feelings of the whole empire. From 1834 to 1837, Lord Morpeth manfully advocated the Appropriation Clause in parliament, and though then obliged to abandon it, that was less his own individual fault than that of the false position taken by the whigs as a government, and the inefficient representation furnished by the present Reform Bill.

Much, however, as we praise Lord Morpeth for his political liberality, it must be understood as taken in conjunction with his peculiar standing as one of the aristocracy. We hold him as too much bound up with "his order" to aim at daring or doing great things. In person, dress, and manners, he is very much of a gentleman, and a very worthy man, but he is not of that order of spirits who would rejoice to break down the pales of conventionalism to advance the interests of the race at large. We are more confirmed in this estimate by his shying the Ballot; his resistance to the reform of the disgraceful pension list; and his defence of Earl Grey's Irish Coercion Bill; which last he at once styled—"arbitrary, despotic, severe and cruel," and yet "a measure of sovereign mercy." He began his singular advocacy of this Bill, by saying that "he *subscribed to all the epithets* which with great impartiality both friends and enemies had applied to it," and in the next breath denied that the epithets, "monstrous, infernal, atrocious, and unwise," were just.—(See the debate on this Bill, March 8, 1834.) Such trimming and tacking style of plea for a bad measure, and his leaning towards the side of the manufacturers in the debates on the miseries of the factory children, lessen our confidence in his statesmanship, and weaken the hopes based on the noble Viscount's otherwise very honourable career.



Gouy.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

CHARLES, EARL GREY DE HOWICK, K.G.

WE close our series of Sketches of Political Reformers with the one who rightfully ought to have stood the first. Earl Grey, if not exactly the venerable father of reform, as he is frequently styled by political writers, is certainly one of its most eminent and unquestionable veterans. It is now more than half a century since he commenced his parliamentary career, the first actions of which were to encounter in an abrupt and determined grapple with the great political apostate, Pitt, on questions of reform and constitutional right. For half a century he has stood firm to his principles, and at the last hour, when the splendid host of coadjutors and opponents which surrounded him at his outset,—when Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Grenville, Wyndham, Whitbread, Burdett, and many others, had successively fallen before the last enemy; Burdett alone being left, a wretched object of servility and vile apostacy, on the stage of life,—at that hour he has had the satisfaction to accomplish, as the Prime Minister of England, the work which was the dream of his youth,—to introduce and see passed the Reform Bill. If this bill has not been found, in coming into operation, to answer the expectations of the present age, it however embodies almost the whole of what the noble Earl has been all along contending for. It no doubt appears to him to have restored the British Constitution to its original power and lustre; and therefore no man can see himself arrived at the late period of 76 years, with a more satisfactory consciousness of having steadily fought for, and finally achieved the great object of his public existence. He has certainly conferred on his country a

greater portion of political reform than it has ever received since the Revolution of 1688. He has placed his party in power, and if they have neglected or refused to build on the grand platform which he has laid down, the public must hold them as the real defaulters. There are those who are accustomed to blame Earl Grey for not having carried farther the principles of reform. Such persons do not reflect that Earl Grey belongs to another age,—to an age when reform was only dawning;—we, to one when its principles are in their noon brightness. Men, even the greatest, as individuals, do not progress so fast as the multitude; they cannot keep pace with the stride of popular principles when they are once recognised by the people; and it is quite as unreasonable in us to expect a veteran like his Lordship to come up to our ideas, as it would be in him to contend that we ought not to outgo him. He appears to us a perfect example of political consistency. He has done all that his conceptions of popular government led him to desire to accomplish; and then, seeing that the age demanded for itself more, he wisely laid down the staff of office, and left younger men to work out the wants of a younger population. How much more dignified, consistent, and patriotic is such a conduct, than that which we now see in the Ministers who have succeeded him! How much more noble than that of a man like Lord John Russell, who holds office apparently for no other ends than to pocket his salary, gratifying the miserable lust of a paltry power, and by every day denying some of those principles and views which placed him in office, to sketch himself in the public eye in the most perfect completeness of a little soul, incapable of one enlarged view of national greatness, or one feeling of a truly glorious ambition.

Dissenting, as we do, from some of the official acts of Earl Grey, yet, when viewed in comparison with those statesmen with whom he rose, with whom he laboured, and again with those whom he has left behind him in office, we cannot help feeling the highest respect both for his personal and political character. Indeed, so entirely has the one originated in the other that they cannot for a moment be considered apart. They have both alike been high, honourable, unbending in those quarters where almost

all statesmen fail,—that is, when touched by the blandishments of courts, and the metamorphosing spirit of office; in a word, alike honest and beneficial to his country.

Earl Grey, though now the most conspicuous and successful veteran of reform, cannot, however, be strictly styled the father of reform. Reform was agitated thirty years before he was born. In 1734, Mr. William Bromley, the member for Norwich, introduced it to Parliament by a motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act. Sir Thomas Carew and Sir John Glynne afterwards introduced similar motions in 1745 and 1758; and what is the most remarkable of all, in 1782 William Pitt demanded a committee to inquire into the state of the representation; and afterwards, in 1783 and 1785, followed up the subject by motions of a more specific nature, in fact, for abolishing the rotten boroughs and throwing their representation into the counties and large manufacturing towns. It is therefore singular enough that William Pitt was really the father of reform, though he afterwards turned so savagely on his own child, and like old Saturn wanted to devour it. It is not the less singular that, as the whigs were the party who deprived the country of triennial parliaments, and forced upon it the Septennial Act, so the tories and jacobites were the most strenuous of the original advocates of reform, and spoke and voted in favour of Mr. Bromley's motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act. These curious facts we shall more particularly introduce to the notice of our readers in our Historical Sketch of the History of Reform, and we merely allude to them here to enable us to indicate exactly the position which the noble Earl occupies in that history. He did not originate parliamentary reform in this country, but he took it up in the generous glow of his youth; he defended it in its childhood from the unnatural fury of its apostate father; he maintained its cause for half a century; and having seen it triumph to the extent of his most sanguine expectation, he has retired to that honourable seclusion which not only nature demands, but which the nature of his political views demands also. He has reached, by the passing of the Reform Bill, the goal of triumph;—the people still demand advance, and it neither suits his convictions nor his dignity to

stand before them in a position of perpetual resistance. It will be the people's own fault if they do not wrench from his successors those concessions of right which they themselves have confessed are just, but which they take no measures to confer.

Lord Grey was born at Fallowden, near Alnwick, the seat of his family, March 13, 1764. His ancestors, the Greys of Werke, claim a very ancient descent. One of them was raised to the peerage in the reign of James I.; but the title became extinct again, and was not revived till in the person of Sir Charles Grey, the father of the present Earl, for services in the American war. Sir Charles also distinguished himself in our continental wars, and in the West Indies, where, in 1794, in conjunction with Admiral Sir John Jarvis, he captured the French islands of Martinique, St. Lucie, and Guadaloupe. Like his son, he lived to a good age, dying at Fallowden at the age of eighty years.

The present Earl Grey received his education at Eton, and at King's College, Cambridge. He left the university at eighteen to proceed on his travels, and visited particularly France, Spain, and Italy. At Rome, in the suite of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, he was present at their interview with the Pope in 1786. He does not appear to have been two years abroad, for, before his twentieth year, we find him, under the auspices of the Duke of Northumberland, elected as a representative of the county of Northumberland. He would not, however, take his seat in Parliament till he had attained his majority, when he speedily became an object of marked attention. The first occasion of his appearance in the House was to oppose Pitt's celebrated treaty of commerce with France. It has been the subject of much remark, that Mr. Grey, who, all his life afterwards, shewed a disposition to cultivate peaceful and commercial, rather than warlike measures, should have begun his parliamentary career with opposing a commercial treaty with France; and it has been argued that it could have proceeded from nothing but a settled resolve to open an immediate and slashing opposition to the minister of the day. It requires, however, very little sagacity to perceive the motives of the youthful politician. His father had been actively engaged in the American war, which had finally terminated disastrously for

this country, and we had had the mortification not only to see our most splendid colonies lost to us by our infatuated despotism, but the still greater one—to see France, our ancient rival, glorying in having been a great means of accomplishing this result. Mr. Grey naturally looked on both America and France with eyes of suspicion; and when he saw, on the one hand, France offering the most liberal terms of commercial alliance to America, and on the other, offering to us such proposals as would operate to shut us out from the rest of Europe, he naturally conceived, as he avowed, that the object of France was to monopolize the trade with America, and thereby raise her own navy while she limited the operations of ours. He exclaimed, “Here is a glorious instance of the pacific disposition of France! She negotiates with us a treaty, a tempting treaty it is called, by which she cuts us off from the rest of Europe, precludes the possibility of our fortifying ourselves with new alliances, obtains an absolute ratification of the Family Compact, and lays the foundations of her future greatness in her trade with America!” It was not that he was averse to the closest commercial treaties both with America and France, but it was that he deemed those proposals, which France was urging on both countries, were alike injurious to the interests of this.

If this speech, which displayed the spirit and talent of the young orator, was felt to threaten hostility to the minister, occasion was not long wanting to prove that, whenever the cause of justice required it, Mr. Pitt, with all the brilliancy of his reputation about him, was likely to find in him a formidable antagonist. In the same session he brought a direct charge against the minister of having dismissed Lord Tankerville, a relative of Mr. Grey’s, from his office of Postmaster-General, entirely from that nobleman’s anxiety to work some salutary reforms in the post-office department. A warm debate ensued, in which Fox and Sheridan zealously supported Mr. Grey, and in which Pitt discovered much warmth and sensitiveness. But the great occasion on which Mr. Grey and Pitt came forth against each other as the heads of hostile parties, was on the 30th of April, 1792, when Mr. Grey introduced his first motion relative to parliamentary reform. Pitt, the father of reform itself, had now apostatised; and it may be

believed that he looked with no friendly eye on the man who, by bringing forward such a motion, compelled him to stand forward and avow his own apostacy, and with the sophistry of office to endeavour to make that now appear false and dangerous which he had himself repeatedly urged on the legislature as necessary to the salvation of the country. But Mr. Grey had done more than merely drag the offensive subject before Parliament. He had joined, and it is even said, originated the famous association of reformers, styling themselves "The Friends of the People." This association included almost all the liberal men of the time, peers, commoners, men of eminence of every rank and pursuit, whether political, literary, or commercial, if we except alone Fox, who refused to join it, on the weak plea that he saw the abuses of the constitution, but did not see the remedy. The government, alarmed at this powerful confederation, caused a royal proclamation to be issued against the publishing and circulating of seditious writings, and against all seditious and illegal associations. The plea of the outrages going on in France, of the Corresponding Society, established to maintain an amicable intercourse with the French revolutionists, and the writings of Paine, was employed to defend this measure, and also its recommendations, which were for all magistrates to organize a system of espionage and secret surveillance in their respective neighbourhoods; but it was clearly felt that the great blow was aimed at the society of "The Friends of the People." Nor was this feeling inoperative: five of the leading members of the society speedily withdrew from it, at the head of whom was the Duke of Bedford. But these circumstances did not a moment daunt or damp Mr. Grey. He introduced a motion on the 30th of April, 1792, and in his speech directly alluded to the existence of the society, and boldly charged the minister with making the "Rights of Man" merely a stalking-horse for his designs against this constitutional association, especially with a view of sowing amongst its members disunion. He declared that "the constitution of the country was not endangered by the proceedings of levellers and republicans, who were few and feeble in England, but by the minister and his adherents, who were numerous and strong, and were cutting away

the constitutional safeguards of law and liberty, under the pretence of preserving them." On the 6th of May in the following year, he again brought on the question of parliamentary reform, and this time did not satisfy himself with merely referring to the society of "The Friends of the People," but made a petition from it the direct occasion of introducing it. This very important petition, which took nearly half an hour in the reading, and the long and animated debate upon it, we shall have another occasion to dwell on more particularly. Here suffice it to observe that it received the most determined opposition from Pitt, with a majority against it of 241.

That there was not the slightest chance of any speedy attention to the subject of reform in the House of Commons every one saw clearly enough. The government of England, under the repeated boasts of its glorious constitution, had at that period become the most villanous cheat and infamous farce that a great people ever was gulled with. Under the form of king, lords, and commons, the country was actually ruled by a set of speculators in boroughs. The representation of this great country had actually concentrated itself into the persons of 1500 individuals; and these individuals and their nominees, at the command of ministers, could rob the people of their money at pleasure, under the mock forms of parliamentary votes,—suspend their liberties, and even take their lives without the possibility of resistance. It was the discovery of this power, vested in the minister, which made Pitt retrace his first steps towards reform. He perceived, on attaining office, that he held in his hands the strings of a certain number of parliamentary puppets, by which he could do whatever he pleased, and by which, in fact, so long as he left untouched the selfish interests of the aristocracy, the East and West Indian proprietors, and the little knot of borough proprietors, he was the absolute ruler of this country. It was Pitt himself who had proclaimed to the country the startling fact that the Nabob of Arcot, an Indian prince, had actually seven representatives in what was called the House of Commons! With this knowledge Pitt went on, carrying every measure by overwhelming majorities of his venal slaves; attacked the liberties of France, of his own country, and placed us under a

load of debt and disgrace, which yet tower over our heads in mountain vastness. His successors, Liverpool, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, *et hoc genus omne*, trod worthily in his steps, and vain were all the attempts in parliament to check their ruinous career. Yet there were not wanting a noble few to raise their voices against this career of headlong despotism and license, and those voices, unavailing within doors, were yet heard without, and raised up from year to year thousands ready to strike for victory when the auspicious hour *should* arrive. At the head of these stood, firm, frank, immoveable and persevering, Mr. Grey. Of his individual exertions we should give a more minute relation were we not about to trace in a separate article the course of reform, in which his acts will make a conspicuous figure. Having that in view, we shall here only take a rapid view of his political movements in the cause of reform, which extend themselves over half a century, and would require a large volume to trace them fully.

The progress of the ruinous war with France, and of the principles of despotism at home, which went hand in hand with debt and distress, found Mr. Grey only too many subjects of constitutional remonstrance. In the following year he inveighed against the landing of Hessian troops in the kingdom without permission of parliament, and pointed out in indignant language how completely the liberties of this country were at the mercy of the monarch or the minister if this was permitted. His motion for condemnation of this measure was, though nobly supported by the liberal party, thrown aside by a majority of 119. Notwithstanding this, he again brought the question forward, in a motion for indemnity of ministers, which was again, as was certain it would be, negatived by the votes of 170 of Pitt's pack of ministerial and boroughmongering slaves. As if determined to strike a complete death-blow to the troublesome spirit of liberty and reform, Pitt immediately afterwards brought in his celebrated Traitorous Correspondence bill, empowering the crown "to secure and detain all persons *suspected* of designs against the government." Mr. Grey not only vehemently denounced this desperate measure, but used such plainness of speech as was calculated to mark his contempt of the base career of the minister, and his own deter-

mination not to be driven by any such measures from persisting in his cry for reform, declaring that “Parliamentary Reform was a cause that he would never desert; nor *would he, to preserve power or gratify ambition, ever become an APOSTATE!*”

In 1795 he had again to stand and denounce another stab to the liberty and security of the subject—the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. He immediately afterwards moved, that Parliament should recommend to the Crown a peace with France; shewing that every day only added to the fruitless expense, the bloodshed and enslavement of the people of England. This motion was again rejected by the hired assassins then insulting the nation by calling themselves its representatives—a majority of 164. To make these reckless and criminal proceedings the more glaring, and to shew that ministers were equally prepared to squander the money of the industrious portion of the nation, on bloodshed abroad and debauchery at home; a motion was made, for the second time, for the liquidation of the debts, and for a marriage settlement, of the Prince of Wales. This profligate youngster had hitherto had an allowance from the state of 60,000*l.* per annum, which, so far from having been sufficient to pay for those shameless indulgences in which he was perpetually immersed, had left him covered with enormous debts. It was now, therefore, proposed to allow him 65,000*l.* a year more; *i. e.* to pay away the taxes wrung with an unrelenting hand from the horny fingers of labour to the amount of 125,000*l.* a year for the indulgence of the follies, the unrestrained lusts, and riot of one man, and this too at a time when the whole nation was torn between the millstones of the most grinding system of taxation which the world had ever seen; taxation to put down liberty abroad, and to pay the greedy slaves at home, by whom this taxation was servilely levied. This we repeat, at a time when the whole nation was in a condition of excessive suffering; a dreadful scarcity of corn existing—people actually perishing for want in many places, and the poor everywhere despairing and desperate. These circumstances seemed to rouse all the patriotism of Mr. Grey. He threw off all the conventional delicacy of terms, which ordinarily mark the language of the aristocracy toward the royal blood, and gave vent to the voice of nature in the uncorrupted heart of

man, which when great occasions arise puts down and silences every ordinary tone of ordinary intercourse. He boldly pronounced the conduct of the Prince, as derogatory to himself and dishonourable to the nation. Though the Prince then professed liberal principles, and the whig party were about him, and expectant of power on his accession to the crown; these things did not weigh for a moment with Mr. Grey against the interests of the people, and the righteous maintenance of moral truth and purity. The Prince, with a want of tact which sufficiently shewed that with all the cleverness which his sycophants gave him credit for, he had not the mind to recognise the proud honour of still higher minds, had already requested Mr. Grey to deny for him to Parliament the fact of his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert,—a proposition which he rejected with scorn, and which more appropriately fell to the lot of Sheridan to accede to. And now, when Pitt, in the base cant of the courtier, talked of properly maintaining the dignity of the Prince, Mr. Grey frankly undertook to tell the minister in what that dignity really consisted. “The best dignity, and the truest greatness,” said Mr. Grey, “are to be found in integrity of character, without which no respect for rank or greatness will long prevail. Let him retire to a situation, where he may, by reflection, qualify himself for the duties of his future station. I yield not,” he added, “to the right honourable gentleman—I yield to no man in this House or out of it, in respect for the due power and dignity of the crown. I am as ready to support the real splendour of the royal family as *any slave of office, or sycophant of a court*; but I think there is more true dignity in shewing a heart alive to the distresses of millions, than in costly trappings, which encumber royalty without adorning it. Is it, I ask, for the legislature, for this House, which pretends to be the representative of the people, to set the example of indulging and encouraging extravagance, at the moment when the prevailing fashion of prodigality among persons of fortune and station is rapidly deteriorating their character by destroying their independence, and rendering them the contempt of the people by making them the tools of a court?”

It is cheering to pause and contemplate the noble position of the true patriot, uttering this glowing language of truth and virtue

amid the blackest profligacy of a nation, and the headlong career of political infamy and despotism. Yet for the time it seemed uttered in vain—the torrent swept on—the people driven to desperation, surrounded the carriage of the monarch, crying “Bread! bread! peace! no Pitt! no war! no famine!” The carriage was nearly dashed to pieces with stones and other missiles: this furnished a fresh pretext for assault on the public liberty. A bill was introduced to put an end to all public exercise of opinion under the name of putting down seditious assemblies. Horne Tooke, Thelwall, Hardy, and others were tried for high-treason; and at every distinct step in the progress of these proceedings, Mr. Grey did not fail to resist and denounce the minister’s crimes against his country. On the opening of the following session, in 1796, he again introduced a motion for peace; and that being rejected, he called for the impeachment of ministers, for flagrant violations of the constitution; for gross misapplication of the public money, and presenting false accounts to screen their misdemeanors from the public eye. One of these acts, at which we now gaze in astonishment—but which Pitt dared to do without consent of Parliament, and yet found a Parliament ready to indemnify him for having done—was to present the Emperor of Austria with a subsidy of no less than one million two hundred thousand pounds!

On the 26th of April 1797, Mr. Grey made another of his motions for Parliamentary Reform. This was rejected by a majority of 195; and so utterly hopeless did it appear, to contend with this most corrupt and overwhelming majority of the Nabob of Arcot’s and the borough-jobbing Parliament, that the reformers resolved to withdraw themselves from it, and to let the people see that they were, in fact, in the hands, not of their representatives, but of a mock-parliament of irresponsible and self-appointed plunderers. After the recess, therefore, the opposition benches were found almost entirely deserted. In 1799, however, Mr. Grey could not witness the mischievous principles on which Pitt was constructing the Act of Union with Ireland, without coming forward to contend for more salutary ones.

In 1806, Pitt died,—“the heaven-born minister,” “the pilot who weathered the storm,” to use the language of toryism—the

man, in fact, who involved this country in the most wicked and calamitous crusade ever entered into against the liberties of mankind; whose measures have eventually covered us with eight hundred millions of debt and distress which yet threaten us with revolution; who in 1801 retired from the helm, which he found himself unable to govern; and finally died, leaving us in the very midst of the rage and chaos of the tempest he had raised.

About this time Mr. Grey became Lord Howick by the elevation of his father to an earldom; Fox took office, and Lord Howick with him as first Lord of the Admiralty. Fox's quickly ensuing death placed Lord Howick in the high post of Foreign Secretary of State, and leader in the House of Commons; and in this station he had the distinguished honour of introducing, and carrying the bill for the total abolition of the slave trade. Lord Howick now in conjunction with Lord Grenville, had the prospect of carrying into effect their plans of reform; but these were suddenly put an end to by the opposition of the King to their proposal to place all his majesty's subjects on an equal footing, as to admission to office, service in the army and navy, and free exercise of their religious faith. It was too soon for Catholic Emancipation; and seeing the way closed against their further progress in usefulness, they resigned.

Lord Howick becoming Earl Grey by the demise of his father, in 1812, he was solicited to form part of an administration with Perceval and other tories. To this proposal, and to various subsequent ones, to the period of the construction of Canning's administration, his lordship gave his prompt refusal. By this conduct, he even ultimately for a season lost the confidence of the whigs, who were anxious for office. He was much blamed, in particular for not coalescing with Canning, and motives of personal pride and jealousy were attributed to him; but, whatever of this earthly leaven might actually exist, we are at a loss to see how Canning and Lord Grey could act together. In foreign policy they might agree: but the veteran champion of parliamentary reform, and the demi-liberal who yet frankly pledged himself to oppose it, could not be expected to work long together. Earl Grey, no doubt, was too sagacious to attempt such an experiment. He preferred to

bide his time. That time came, when on the 15th of November 1831, in consequence of the Duke of Wellington's declaration against all reform, his administration was broken up. On the 22d, Earl Grey was commissioned to form a new one. He accepted office only on the assurance that the Reform Bill, the great object of his political life, should be introduced by him; and the history of the struggle for, and the passing of that bill is too recent to demand more notice than we must necessarily give it in the separate sketch of the History of Reform, which will follow this notice.

In the period from his entering the House of Peers to that great event, he uniformly displayed one course of high-minded attachment to the cause of justice and liberty. In 1812, he frankly denounced the secret influence which the Marchioness of Hertford exercised over the Regent's councils. In 1817, he made a splendid demonstration against the liberty-crushing measures of Lord Sidmouth; he took a decided part in resisting the infamous attempt of George IV. to destroy his Queen; and in 1829, triumphantly supported the Bill for Catholic Emancipation, though brought forward by a rival party. If we regret anything in the bright close of his long and most honourable political life, it is, that he appeared too willing to copy the tories in filling offices with his own relatives and in his coercive policy towards Ireland. With these slight drawbacks, we shall look in vain amongst our statesmen for one who has maintained a course of equal length, with the same consistency, the same talents, eloquence, and truly high and patriotic principle.

SKETCH OF THE
PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM,

FROM

THE ATTEMPT TO REPEAL THE SEPTENNIAL ACT IN 1734,
TO THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832.

IN closing our series of the Memoirs of the most distinguished Reformers, we think it cannot but be an acceptable task to our readers, to take a rapid review of that great contest for Parliamentary Reform which these gentlemen have contributed to bring to its first magnificent stage of triumph—the passing of the Reform Bill. We do not consider that bill a final measure by any means. We conceive that every day the financial and commercial difficulties which progressively press upon this great nation, and the advance of the people in education, and a truer knowledge of their political and social rights, will render yet many reforms necessary, before the whole population reap the enjoyment of that general prosperity which so enlightened and active a nation deserves. The Reform Bill has not been found efficient enough to enable the nation to throw off the fetters which cramp its commercial energies, and deprive the labouring mass of the fair reward of its labours, nor to check, much less diminish, that annually accumulating expenditure which presents an awful prospect for the future. These facts argue that we have not yet reached the seat of political mischief; that we must yet strike fearlessly the lancet of reform deeper; that we must yet go on imitating the dauntless conduct of those great men whom we are about to bring under review, who with the most apparently hopeless task before them, never despaired of their country, but advanced in the face of mountainous difficulties and desperate opposition, till they won the great object of their endea-

vours. That contest was the ardent occupation of a whole century within two years; and though for the moment the failure of the bill to effect those great objects which it was by many fondly hoped to realize, may render us inclined to undervalue it, we have only to look back and survey the corruptions from which it has rescued us in order to correct that notion. We shall then speedily see that if it has not done that which we hoped for,—given us a cheap, an efficient, and progressing government—it has laid an ample foundation for one. Before its enactment the people had, in fact, no representation at all. The nation was robbed and mocked by a set of venal borough-jobbers. It was represented by a set of men who heaped on it the enormous debt of 800,000,000 pounds sterling, and who were elected at most by 1500 people out of 30,000,000. It is some advance, certainly, to a body of 600,000 electors;—it is some advance, too, from a condition in which the most depraved party of legislators which this country ever saw, so far checked the freedom of speech, that the boldest parliamentary orator dare not call them by their right name; and had so muzzled at once the press and the public by censorships and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, that the most intolerable evils were expressed only in secret groans—to one in which ministers and parliament are freely and fully censured, although they refuse to move. And if we have not won all we sought, and still reasonably seek, we have won this one grand triumph,—the full and indisputable proof that reform is absolutely safe. Little as we have gained, we have at least seen that all the horrors and mischiefs prognosticated as the immediate consequence of that portion of reform which we now possess, were but phantoms raised by the necromancy of interest. The terrors which the corruptionists announced as the sure results of reform, they knew were terrors only to *themselves*. If the car of state moves now slowly, it is nevertheless quite safe. It has not been torn to atoms by revolutionists, as was foretold. This is a splendid point attained! We have now reached a broad and sure platform, on which to labour still for our country; the fogs which surrounded the path of our fathers, have vanished from ours; we have reached a noble elevation and a clear atmosphere; we feel under our feet, and see around us, that the work of reform is sure work and safe

work ; and we have only to follow the steady, the patient, the zealous, the undaunted course which the last generation of reformers pursued, and we shall in this generation yet grasp much that we hope for. There is not a man who looks back through the period of the present sketch, and there beholds the most profligate of parliaments compelled to reform itself, and forego the national plunder which it seemed to have got for ever into its own power, that can despair of the completion of the glorious labour thus auspiciously begun. Let us only think that it is *but begun*, and that we have yet still, with vastly augmented means, to urge on a government which, though calling itself reformed, is composed of men who never were so thoroughly reformed as this age requires, and who having eaten of the lotus-fruit of office, are fast forgetting themselves and their country, and we shall not be long in seeing the demands of the people realized. The aristocracy have gained *their* point, that of the *people* has yet to be achieved. But we have a vast multitude hourly increasing their knowledge, and goaded with plenty of distresses,—and with union and faith, the corn-laws must speedily fly before them, the suffrage be extended, trade be fixed on a more rational basis, and then that series of real, popular reforms follow, which shall daily make reform more powerful from its palpable beneficence, and the people too fond of the taste of prosperity to relapse into sleepiness or folly.

The period of parliamentary reform commences about a century ago. The same spirit, indeed, has always been at work in the nation—the spirit of popular liberty, and constitutional organization. All that we possess of liberty we have wrested from feudalism. In its linked despotism our great national career begun, and from the days of William the Conqueror we have been struggling with it: we have ever since been *forming* and *reforming*. Our constitution, our scheme of government, our popular privileges, were continually evolving and expounding themselves till the revolution of 1688. Till that moment, our political history is the history of political formation. It was then only that the great principles of our constitution had completely displayed and fixed themselves. They were in strenuous action and reaction through the reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts, but they only finally embodied themselves

in the Bill of Rights. Since then we have gained little, but for the last hundred years have been employed in reclaiming what, after that time, again became lost. We have not yet even restored triennial parliaments, then secured to us; and what we yet have to win from the acquisitive grasp of government, are laws which will be merely the working out of the principle then recognised, that no man shall be taxed without his own consent. In that maxim are included perfect representation and the most perfect free trade; for without these nothing is plainer than that men are taxed without their own consent.

From the date of the Revolution to the seventh year of George II. there had been a gradual corruption of the constitution, and infringements on popular rights. The different parties of whigs and tories are little to be distinguished by their acts during this period, scarcely by any other feature than that of their alternations of office and opposition. The whigs, indeed, were by far the most arbitrary. By them the Habeas Corpus Act was repeatedly suspended; and in 1716, the year after the first Scotch rebellion, they made their first most unwarrantable inroad on the constitution by the repeal of the Triennial Act, and the passing of that for septennial parliaments. Their severities exercised on the prisoners taken in the rebellion, had excited great disgust, and extended the spirit of disaffection; and dreading the spirit of a new parliament, they resolved on what Smollett terms "the equally odious and effectual" expedient of more than doubling the duration of the one sitting, in which their power was in the ascendant. It is very remarkable that the whigs to this very day, as if ashamed to confess the traitorous deeds of their party, have for the most part maintained a dogged adherence to a septennial form: however much of reformers in other respects, in this they have stood fast. Even when arguing for the other proposed reforms, on the ground that they were but so many returns to our ancient constitution, and while quoting proof after proof of this from our history, they have shewn a strange aversion to return to this most established practice of our ancestors. A few years took away all pretext for the continuance of their encroachments on the constitution, and instead of shewing a generous haste to make reparation for that act, in which they outwent even

the tories, they have clung to the greatest blot of their history with a curious pertinacity.

The commencement of the great warfare of reform was with the attempt to abolish this whig act, and restore the constitutional triennial parliament. Mr. William Bromley, member for Norwich, had the honour to introduce this motion, which was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn; and thus they became the originators of that zeal for reform, which has been at work in the House of Commons for a century, has produced the Reform Bill, and is yet destined to accomplish many necessary and most vital changes. It is singular that at this time the tories were the chief advocates and the whigs the opponents of reform. Sir John Barnard and Mr. Pulteney were almost the only whigs who spoke in favour of the repeal, and the tories were the eloquent advocates for the extinction of those abuses which they have since been so zealous to maintain.

The debate on this motion is curious from its being a miniature likeness of all the debates since on the subject of shortening parliaments. In the more simple and conversational style of parliamentary eloquence at that day, you find condensed almost all the arguments which have since been amplified and repeated time after time, and almost every species of corruption indicated, which has since been shewn to exist to such an extent; bribery of electors, purchase of seats, and trafficking in rotten boroughs. The opening speech of Mr. Bromley extends to merely two pages of the Parliamentary Debates, and yet he expresses a fear that he has been drawn by his subject into a length which must have wearied his auditors. How would they have endured some of our modern orators, whose speeches may be safely said to be nearly fifty times that length? Sir John Aubyn spoke at greater length, and both of these speakers, as well as those who followed on the same side, traced the historical evidences of the constitutional shortness of parliaments from the time of the Conqueror to that of William and Mary. They shewed that they had been chiefly annual till the reign of Henry VIII, and till then never exceeding three years. But, says Sir John St. Aubyn, "He was a prince of unruly appetites and of arbitrary will, he was impatient of any restraint; the laws of God and man fell equally a sacrifice as they stood in the way of

his avarice, or disappointed his ambition ; he therefore introduced long parliaments, because he very well knew that they would become the proper instruments of both ; and what a slavish obedience they paid to all his measures, is sufficiently known." He thought the way in which the Septennial Act was introduced, was a cogent reason why it should be repealed. A precedent of such a dangerous consequence, of so fatal a tendency, he thought a disgrace to our statute book to retain. Yet there it is still, a hundred years later ; and after its peculiar property of "usurping the most indubitable, the most essential privilege of the people—that of choosing their own representatives,"—has been shewn in all the brilliant light of the highest genius which the parliament of England has since called forth.

Sir John tells us that election bribery did not begin with the country gentlemen but with the Treasury, and that long parliaments first introduced it, because they made it worth while to purchase for their nominees at any rate. He says the country gentlemen finding themselves outbid amongst their own connexions, abandoned the pursuit and gave up their country in despair. They sunk into an indolent lethargy ; despair naturally produced indolence, which is the proper disposition of slavery. Ministers understood this, and were therefore careful not to awaken the people by frequent elections. "Let country gentlemen, then," he adds, "by having frequent opportunities of exerting themselves, be kept warm and active for the public good. This will raise their zeal and indignation, which will at last get the better of these undue influences of the crown."

The real motive for introducing long parliaments, their effects, and the benefits of frequent elections, have never been more graphically described in the more verbose harangues of modern days. We see, too, that even then those gross corruptions, with which we have been made too familiar, were all in existence. But the picture which he drew of the effects to be apprehended from ministerial tampering amongst the rotten boroughs, could not have been more wonderfully sketched if it had been done since it became so fulfilled to the letter in our own day.—"If a minister should ever gain a corrupt familiarity with our boroughs ; if he should keep a register

of them in his closet, and, by sending down his treasury mandates, should procure a spurious representation of the people, the offspring of his corruption, who will be at all times ready to reconcile and justify the most contradictory measures of his administration, and even to vote any crude, undigested dream of their parent into a law: if the maintenance of his power should become the sole object of their attention, and they should be guilty of the most violent breach of parliamentary trust, by giving the king a discretionary liberty of taxing the people without limitation or control—the last fatal compliment they can pay to the crown: if this should ever be the unhappy circumstance of this nation, the people indeed may complain, but the doors of that place where their complaints should be heard will prove to be shut against them.” This is exactly what came to pass; and the people preferred their complaints for a hundred years, of the calamities and insults heaped upon them, to their corrupt and spurious parliament, and found its doors shut against them. To this very day there is the densest deafness to their petitions; and this very abuse of septennial parliaments is not reformed.

The chief speakers, besides the mover and the seconder, in favour of the repeal of this act were, Lord Noel Somerset, afterwards Duke of Beaufort, Mr. Watkins Williams Wynn, Sir John Barnard, and Sir William Wyndham. On the ministerial side, the principal speakers were Sir Thomas Robinson, Willes, the Attorney-General, the Honourable John Cornwallis, Sir William Lowther, Sir William Yonge, and Sir Robert Walpole, the minister. It is quite ludicrous to see how completely these Robinsons, Willesees, and Walpoles, the Cannings and Burkes of that day, in their very first debate on reform, struck out and forestalled every sophistical argument, which we have since heard repeated again and again, in favour of corruption. The flimsy sophisms, from which Burke, Canning, Wyndham, Lyndhurst, and other of our modern tories, have reaped so much popularity with their party—for employing them in the defence of profitable mis-government, as if they were new and inspired ideas of high genius—are every one to be found here. The challenge of Canning for those who talked of returning to constitutional principles, to point out any one time in which our constitution was more free than it is now, and which was echoed on all

sides as a perfect poser, is here also given by Sir Thomas Robinson, and as completely answered by Lord Somerset. "Because," says the latter, "gentlemen have mentioned our old constitution, and have taken notice of a particular regulation with respect to the holding of Parliaments, which was then in force, and which they desired to be re-established; is it from thence to be inferred, that they desire to restore, *in all its parts*, our ancient constitution, as it stood at any period of time? No; when we talk of our old constitution with regard to any amendment or alteration now proposed, we are to pick out those customs which appear to be good, and which ought to be restored, and we are to reject those which appear to have been bad." He goes on to expose the folly of those who argue that because it is contended, that certain principles are familiar to our ancient constitution, in order to shew to the present times that they have been found to be safe, we can, or do use these arguments only; whereas having answered the outcries of those who denounce our reforms as destructive of the constitution, we proceed to claim our reforms also on the ground of their foundation in truth and justice, and in the right to engraft all the truth and justice that we can on our constitution, to render it even more perfect than it has ever been seen at any one point of any past time. To plead the practice of our ancestors does not preclude us from contending for anything beyond that practice; but when a practice is shewn to be at once of ancient usage and excellent, it is doubly recommended to our attention.

But, in short, all the stock sophisms, and it may be said too the most able refutation of them, originate in this debate. The argument that the time is not fit for the agitation of such a question; that the system works well; that, in fact, there is no corruption, but all is as pure as new-fallen snow; that the country has risen to its present eminence under this system; that to shorten parliaments will not diminish bribery, and will render agitation and confusion only more frequent; that no arbitrary measures can be pointed out as originating in long parliaments; that if bribery exist, it will exist only the more from frequent occasion to employ it; that if we *will* go back to our ancient constitution, we must be prepared to take it as it was, and then see what was the power of the crown and the subjection of the people; that long parliaments were shewn

to be independent in the reigns of Elizabeth and the Charleses; that when men once are elected members of the House of Commons, they cease to represent the particular place from which they are sent, and represent only the nation at large; that the people are a rabble, incapable of judging for themselves; that the people do not want the reform asked by certain members; on the other hand, that the petitions sent, are got-up petitions to serve the purpose of these members; but above all, that the constitution is the most beautiful constitution, the government the most paternal government, the members the most virtuous members, and the people the most happy people in the world; and then it is folly and madness to demand such dangerous and sweeping changes. All these commonplaces, but which then had some freshness, were, as we have said, amply answered, and especially by Sir William Wyndham, who drew such a portrait of Sir Robert Walpole as was highly resented, and which drew from Sir Robert another portrait of Bolingbroke, who, he insinuated, was at the bottom of this movement; thereby to cast an air of sedition upon the question, Bolingbroke being then in disgrace, and living abroad. Sir Robert, with all the cool audacity of Castlereagh, protested that such things as bribery and corruption amongst honourable members were things perfectly incredible, though he had boasted of having bribed the whole of his majority, and that the cry for reform was all faction and sedition.

Such was that first debate, a hundred years ago, on reform of parliament. We have thought it necessary to notice it more particularly, that it may save us the trouble of going over the same arguments again and again; as in every future debate they were re-introduced, vamped up afresh, as the newest things in existence, and presented in a hundred shapes, and at a length evidently more intended to weary down opposition than to convince anybody. The motion was negatived by 247 against 184. It was annually brought on again for some time, but with no better success; and the next agitation of the question in any newness of form was by the motion of Mr. Carew, in 1745, for annual parliaments. We need not go far into the debate, which was of a similar character to the one just noticed. It was conducted chiefly by Mr. Thomas Carew, Mr. Humphry Sydenham, Sir William Yonge, and Sir John Phipps.

Sir William Yonge was the Sir Harry Inglis of his day, and made a long speech of the most confident and arbitrary assertions. He boldly declared that corruption could never do any mischief, but rendered a real service, by blunting the edge of faction; and also that if the people got the full power in that house, they would soon put down both lords and monarch. The very argument which was continually used in our own days, and to which Mr. Ricardo justly replied, that if true, it was the strongest argument for a republic that can possibly be produced; for if the people put down king and peers, it must be because they did not find them for their good. On the other side, one of the most striking facts, and the most interesting to us, was pointed out by Sir Humphry Sydenham—that it was the disgust produced in the minds of country gentlemen, by finding their neighbours, amongst whom they lived and spent their fortunes, basely suffering themselves to be bought up by the ministerial nominees, which first led them to quit their seats, vowing not to spend their incomes amongst those who thus meanly and ungratefully treated them, and betaking themselves to London or abroad. And that on the other hand, the simplicity of country manners and industry were first corrupted and destroyed by this ministerial bribery money, the idle and the vicious electors who sold themselves, finding that they need not work, but had got a trade in their fingers which could maintain them in dissipation, and the aping of their superiors. This was a serious blow to our national heart and manners—the first-fruits of government corruption, which has not been sufficiently noticed. This question was negatived by 145 to 113.

Parliamentary agitation now slept till 1758, thirteen years, when Sir John Glynn moved for leave to bring in a bill for the shortening of parliaments, which was negatived without a debate on a division of 190 to 74. The question thus summarily disposed of, then slumbered on for no less than twenty-four years, nearly a quarter of a century, and was then brought forward by no other than William Pitt himself in 1782. During this quarter of a century the country had been almost continually engaged in wars. We had been at war with almost every power on the continent, and the irresistible facility with which the public money had been voted by

parliament in the most extraordinary sums for carrying on these wars, had begun to open the eyes of the public to the fact that the corruption of small boroughs had really placed the purse and property of the nation, not in the hands of its legitimate representatives, but in those of a set of purchased tools of the crown. Subsidies the most extravagant had been paid to foreign monarchs—that to the king of Prussia being about 700,000*l.* per annum. A million of money came to be voted at once for such purposes, a thing never before seen. Then came the American war, raised entirely by the attempt of ministers to tax the colonists for the support of our domestic extravagance and European wars, and by the boroughmongers' majority hoping to plunder America as they had done England. The Americans, more steady in their independence than the English, refused to be taxed without representation, though they were, as to fact, actually quite as much represented as the English themselves. They resisted the greedy demands of the representatives of Gatton and Old Sarum, and America was lost; having cost this country forty thousand lives, and one hundred millions sterling, to lose it, and raised the annual expenditure in 1781 to 25,380,324*l.* Lord North, who with his paid pack of boroughmongers had thus lost these noble colonies and covered the country with this debt, was driven from office, and a liberal ministry, including Fox as Secretary of State, and Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was under these circumstances that Pitt now, on May 7, 1782, brought forward his motion for a reform in Parliament. He reminded the house of the frequent occasions when, in opposition to the reckless proceedings of the former ministry, he had urged on them the necessity of a change in the mode of representation. He went on to expose the whole system of borough corruption. He shewed the entire scheme of borough-jobbing. He pointed out the startling fact that the Nabob of Arcot, a foreign potentate, had no less than seven or eight members in that house. He declared that "this was no representation nor anything like it," but a party of men employed by ministers and foreigners "to act for them under the mask and character of members of that house." He protested that "it was a cabal, more to be dreaded than any other." He then reminded the house of the earnest language in

which his illustrious father, the Earl of Chatham, had declared the absolute necessity of the reform of this state of the representation; and without attempting to introduce any specific plan of action, he contented himself with moving generally, that an inquiry be instituted into the state of the representation with a view to its reform and improvement. He was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, Sir George Saville, the Earl of Surrey, Mr. Byng, Sir C. Turner, who declared that he regarded the House of Commons in its then condition in no other light "than a pack of thieves who had stolen an estate, and were afraid of letting anybody look into the title deeds for fear of losing it again;" by Mr. Courteney, Mr. Sheridan, and Sir Watkin Lewes. It was opposed by Mr. Thomas Pitt, at good length, Mr. Powys, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and others. The question was got rid of by moving the order of the day. Such was the fate of the first motion for reform brought in by the ministers of the crown. Exactly on that day twelve-months, May 7th, 1783, Mr. Pitt again returned to the subject. This debate was distinguished from the former by several striking circumstances. Mr. Pitt now proposed a definite mode of operation. First, that means should be adopted to put an end to bribery at elections. Second, that as boroughs were convicted of corruption they should be disfranchised; and the minority of voters, that is, those who were not convicted of bribery, should be allowed to vote for the county in which such borough stood; and thirdly, that an addition should be made to the number of the knights of the shire.

This plan, it is seen at a glance, would throw a vast influence into the counties, and thereby produce scarcely a less mischievous effect than the rotten boroughs themselves. The object of Pitt evidently now was to get rid of the odium of corruption, and yet to retain such a description of representatives as should have an interest rather in voting for the government than for the people. His ideas of reform indeed were always poor, meagre, and unsatisfactory. He expressed the utmost horror at representation not most intimately united to property and land.

A second circumstance of note was, that Burke, who had written strongly on the subject of reform, first rose in this debate as an opponent of it, but finding a number of other gentlemen eager to

address the house, he withdrew. Mr. Thomas Pitt, on the other hand, who so strenuously opposed the motion of his relative the year before, now appeared as zealous in the defence of this. This he did on the plea that the former motion was vague, this definite. His arguments, however, were generally opposed to his former ones on the whole principle of reform. Mr. Powys opposed it *in toto*, but especially because Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield had not petitioned, though there were petitions from Suffolk, Sussex, Lancaster, Poole, Yarmouth, Tiverton, Derby, Lynn-Regis, Winchester, York, Caermarthen, Gloucester, Cambridge, Somerset, Nottingham, Flint, Denbigh, Rochester, Penrhyn, Lymington, Scarborough, Montrose, Dumbarton, Portsmouth, Chichester, Southampton, Droitwich, etc., shewing that the feeling was spread far and wide. Mr. Byng stated that the Tower Hamlets paid 34,000*l.* land-tax, and they were unrepresented in parliament. The county of Cornwall paid 20,000*l.* less, and yet they were represented by *forty-two* members. Cornwall, in fact, was the grand stronghold of rotten boroughs. Lord North, the ex-minister, with the cool hardihood of a practised leader of a corrupt parliament, denounced reform, and impudently laid the blame and disgrace of the American war on the parliament and the people. Mr. Beaufoy made his first speech on this occasion; one of the most able, argumentative, and sound speeches that ever was made in that house. He successfully exposed the outcry against innovation, shewing from history that our constitution is but one series of innovations, and that the office of Speaker of the House of Commons is of so late a date as the reign of Richard II. Sheridan, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir Watkin Lewes complained that the motion did not go far enough; but on a division, on moving the order of the day, it was negatived by 293 to 149.

Two years afterwards, 1785, Mr. Pitt brought forward his third and last motion on the subject. His plan was now simply to vote a million of pounds sterling, with which to buy up the elective franchise of thirty-six small boroughs—thirty-six causing a diminution of seventy-two members. The right of returning this number of members was then to be conferred on the metropolis and the counties. When this was effected, a second sum was to be appro-

priated to purchase the franchise of other small boroughs, and to transfer that franchise to such large towns as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, whenever such unrepresented places should solicit parliament for the same.

This, it is plain, was a plan to get rid of the opposition of the corruptionists, by purchasing that in which they had no real property, and sanctioning for ever, the claim of vested rights in all acts and offices of government upon which unprincipled people could lay their hands. It was a scheme well worthy of him who devised it, who throughout his life shewed that he would achieve his object, however ambitiously criminal, by means of the nation's wealth, lavishly scattered. It is well that it failed, or it would have formed a precedent which would have met the reformers at every stage of their progress, and created perpetual trouble and delay. Besides this main portion of his plan, he had others which were more legitimate. To extend the franchise in corporate towns, on petition, to householders occupying houses assessed at a certain small amount, to the same class in the large towns as they became represented by transfer of the franchise, and to copyholders and leaseholders in the counties. This was a more extensive plan of reform than had ever previously been laid before parliament. It was, as he observed, a plan "perfectly new in all its shapes to that parliament."

Wilberforce appeared on this occasion in the character of a reformer, and Burke as an opponent. In his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents," Burke had written some of the strongest arguments for reform. That the "virtue, spirit and essence of a House of Commons consist in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It was not instituted to be a control *upon* the people, as of late it has been taught by a doctrine of the most pernicious tendency, but as a control *for* the people. The distempers of monarchy were the great subject of apprehension and redress in the last century; in this, the distempers of parliament. *The power of the crown, almost dead and rotten as prerogative, has grown up anew, with much more strength and far less odium, under the name of influence—an influence which operated without noise and violence, which converted the very antagonist into the instrument of power; which contained in itself a perpetual principle of*

growth and renovation, and which the distresses and the prosperity of the country equally tended to augment, was an admirable substitute for a prerogative, that, *being only the offspring of antiquated prejudices*, had moulded in its original stamina irresistible principles of decay and dissolution. When the House of Commons was thus made to consider itself as the master of its constituents, there wanted but one thing to secure it against all possible future deviation towards popularity—an unlimited fund of money to be laid out according to the pleasure of the court.”

Thus clearly did Burke see the actual condition and tendency of the parliament—yet, on almost the first occasion he rushed forward the advocate of this very state of things, protesting that a case wanted making out, and that the whole scheme of reform was a delusion and an *ignis fatuus*. The motion was negatived by 248 to 174; and the next time which Mr. Pitt appeared before parliament on the subject of reform, it was as its determined antagonist. It is true he did not avow this; he professed himself as much a reformer as ever—but then, this was not the time. No, nor the time never came to him again. The French revolution had now broken out, and was rapidly progressing. The English, in their everlasting intermeddling in the affairs of the continent, in prosecuting the squabbles which the Hanover family brought with them for the possession of their petty foreign territory, had raised the most deadly hatred against them in France. France, therefore, seized with avidity the opportunity of revenge, by aiding America to sever herself from England, and the fire of liberty carried back by the French soldiers, broke out in France too, and raged furiously. Thus the leaguings and battles of arbitrary monarchs, in which they shed the blood and wasted the substance of their subjects, in this case led to the most opposite effects to those intended, and all trembled for their thrones. None took the alarm more violently than the boroughmongering oligarchy of England, with Pitt at their head. They saw, if this spirit went on, nothing could prevent its flying across the channel; and that down would go before the roused anger of the whole people, the whole of that juggling machinery by which they had possessed themselves of the wealth, the liberties, and the actual monarchy of England. They rushed, therefore, headlong into the

contest to stifle liberty in France, that it might not annihilate them here. But they soon found themselves engaged in the most desperate conflict in which this or any other nation ever was involved. The spirit of the French people shewed itself as mighty against its foreign foes, as it was bloody and dreadful to its old domestic despots. It even went on rending its own very heart, and butchering in legions the champions of its own emancipation; but not the less did it carry victory on its standard, and make all surrounding nations shrink before it. Out of this bloody confusion arose the most remarkable and ambitious conqueror that the world had seen since the days of Alexander of Macedon; and it required all the energies of England, strained to the pitch, to keep up her head before him. It was Pitt and his boroughmongers who had wilfully rushed into this contest to quell popular liberty; it was they who raised this phantom from the heart of martial and civil chaos; and though it must be confessed that they battled with it manfully, they did it at the expense of an ocean of the blood of Englishmen, and at the waste of the wealth of generations. Parliamentary reform, of course, became the last thing which they could bear the prospect of. They held in their hands the purse of England; every man's property, and even person was at their mercy, and they did not hesitate to exert their unconstitutional power. Pitt died in the midst of the turmoil, and left to his country a legacy of eight hundred millions of debt! That is his monument, and the monument of the borough-mongering system—the system that “worked well.” A monument which, so far from shewing any symptoms of decay, is annually enlarging and exalting itself, and will probably only be destroyed amid the earthquake shock of a second convulsion, overthrowing millions in the ruin of its fall.

The motion for reform which first brought out Pitt in opposition to his former principles, was one made by Mr. Flood, March 4, 1790. It was introduced by him with great manliness. He plainly told the house that they were not the representatives of the people, and that they had made parliament but a sort of second-rate aristocracy. His motion was met by the old arguments, and got rid of by a motion for adjournment.

The next effort in this great cause was one of infinitely more

importance than any which had yet been made. It was the first of that series of motions which Mr. (now Earl) Grey brought on, backed by the whole body of reformers, now become numerous and influential; but which were made in vain, so far as immediate success with the legislature was concerned, though they produced a permanent interest among the people, which annually grew, and finally shewed itself victoriously.

Mr. Grey, and the most distinguished reformers of the time, alarmed at the ruinous course which ministers were pursuing, voting away the money and the liberties of the people by means of their hireling majority, in the most lavish manner, had united themselves into an association under the name of "The Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform." This society included the names of all the most eminent reformers, excepting that of Fox, who though acting with them in parliament and on other public occasions, yet declined to add his name to the society, on the flimsy plea, that though he saw the abuses of government, he did not see their remedy. It was believed, however, that the real motive was the prospect of office, which such an alliance might prejudice. Amongst the names of the members of this society we see those of the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Dacre, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Lord Kinnaird, Lord J. Russell, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Throckmorton, Sir Bell Grahame, Sir Ralph Milbanke, Sir J. W. S. Gardiner, Sheridan, Tierney, Whitbread, Erskine, Samuel Rogers, Alderman Sawbridge, Major Cartwright, William Smith of Norwich, Beckford, W. H. Lambton, the father of Earl Durham, and in fact, all the men of note in the lists of reform at that time. At a meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern in April, 1792, it was resolved that an Address should be issued to the public, and that Mr. Grey should move, and Mr. Erskine second, a motion in parliament for parliamentary reform. This Address, which may be found at large in the volume of the Parliamentary Debates of that date, stated the principles of the society, and vindicated it from the attempt to connect it with the principles and actors of the French revolution. It refers, in one paragraph, to instances of the advocacy of reform, which, as they occurred in the House of Lords, we have not hitherto

noticed : the one being the declaration of Earl Chatham, in 1770, "that he meant to infuse a portion of new health into the constitution ;" and the other that of the Duke of Richmond, in 1783, that "his reasons in favour of a parliamentary reform were founded on the experience of twenty-six years, which, whether in or out of government, had equally convinced him that the restoration of a genuine House of Commons by a renovation of the rights of the people, was the only remedy against that system of corruption which had brought the nation to disgrace and poverty, and threatened it with the loss of liberty." Mr. Grey, in accordance with the resolution of the Society of the Friends of the People, accordingly, on April 30th, gave notice that in the next session he would move the question of Reform of Parliament. A debate arose upon this notice of the greatest warmth, shewing the strong feeling which now influenced both parties on this subject. Sheridan, indeed, declared that it was rather a clamour than a debate. Pitt, Fox, Burke, Lord North, Mr. Lambton, Sheridan, Wyndham, Whitbread, Dundas, and many others taking part in it. The alarm of ministers and their satellites at the existence of this formidable society was not only manifested on this debate, but in every way. They caused a proclamation to be issued against holding all seditious assemblies, which was aimed chiefly at this society, and intended to alarm the most distinguished of its members: nor did it fail entirely of its effect; five of those of the chief rank, with the Duke of Bedford at their head, withdrawing themselves from it. The majority, however, stood only the more firm, and Mr. Grey, on the 6th of May 1793, introduced his promised motion with a petition from this very association. This was one of the most important political documents which ever was laid before parliament. It was drawn up with extreme care, with great clearness, force, and gravity, and stated a multitude of the most serious charges against the system on which parliament was constituted, which the petitioners offered to prove at the bar of the house. It denied that the house was the representative of the country, asserted that less than 15,000 electors returned the whole house; that bribery and corruption were notorious; that the franchise was most partial and irregular, Cornwall and Wiltshire returning more borough members than Yorkshire,

Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire united; and that a single English county returns, within one, as many members as the whole of Scotland. That seventy members were returned by thirty-five places where there could be said to be no voters at all; ninety others were returned by forty-six places, in none of which the voters exceeded fifty; and so on in like manner. They shewed that whereas at the Revolution, the public revenue did not exceed 2,100,000*l.*, and the peace establishment had not exceeded 1,900,000*l.*; the public revenue had then mounted up to above 16,000,000*l.*, and the peace establishment to 5,000,000*l.*

We regret that our limits only permit us to take a very cursory glance at the parliamentary efforts for reform at this period. They would in anything like an adequate relation fill a volume. We must, therefore, content ourselves with the statement that a very splendid debate took place, and that the motion was negatived by a majority of 241; only 41 voting for reform, 282 against it.

Mr. Grey did not move the question of reform in the house again till five years afterwards; that is, in 1797. Events had now assumed a serious aspect. The war with France, in which, as Mr. Grey observed, ministers had calculated on one brief campaign and a victorious march to Paris, turned out one series of disasters, disgraces, and defeats. As Mr. Erskine in this debate asserted, ministers, in seeking by "this new mode to support monarchical establishments, had absolutely changed, and were hourly changing into republican establishments the whole face of the earth. At home they had broke the Bank, and were driving Ireland, as they had driven America, into the arms of France." In fact, the French armies were overrunning the continent; and at home there was nothing but distress, riots for bread, suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, and indictments for sedition and high treason. Among those reformers who were prosecuted were Muir, Margarot, Skirving and Palmer, who, for asserting the popular and constitutional rights, were tried at Edinburgh in 1793, and transported. The Rev. Mr. Winterbotham, a dissenting minister, for preaching two liberal sermons, was fined 200*l.* and imprisoned for four years. During his confinement he amused himself with writing a history

and topography of America, which caused thousands to emigrate thither. Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall were committed to the Tower on charges of high treason, tried and acquitted. The general excitement, both at home and abroad, had induced the Society of Friends of the People to suspend their operations; but Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, and other reformers, having in vain attempted to accomplish a peace, now resolved again to urge the question of reform. A vehement debate ensued, in which Mr. Grey stated his plan to be this: To leave the county representation as it was, except adding a few representatives to the larger counties, including the franchise to leaseholders and copyholders paying a certain rental for a certain number of years, and giving a household suffrage to the towns. The speeches were much the same as on other occasions, except that Sir Francis Burdett now came forward as a reformer of the most decided stamp. His language was characterised by the most frank and manly declaration of his opinion of government and its measures; and he vowed that he would, while he lived, never cease to demand a thorough reform of the representation. The motion was lost by a majority of 165, being only 91 for it and 256 against it. The utter hopelessness of effecting anything against the overwhelming majority of ministers for war and corruption, now made Mr. Grey and many of the reformers retire from the contest and wait for more auspicious times. Here then ended one great crisis in the progress of the reform agitation, with the motions of Mr. Grey. Nothing more was done till 1809, when Mr. Curwen introduced a motion for leave to bring in "a bill to prevent the procuring and obtaining seats in Parliament by corrupt practices, and likewise more effectually to prevent bribery." This it proposed to effect by obliging every member, before taking his seat, to take an oath that he had neither procured his return, nor caused it to be procured by any contract or agreement, express or implied, to pay money to grant any office or place. Leave was given, and by various adjournments from the 4th of May to the 12th of June, the subject was debated. A more animated discussion, or one in which the talents and eloquence of our senators shone more conspicuously, has seldom taken place; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer took care to have the words relating to place or office

expunged, so that Sir Francis Burdett moved that the bill be rather called a bill for preventing the sale of seats for money, and for promoting a monopoly thereof to the Treasury by means of patronage. The bill passed, but so shorn of what little merit it had, as to become a mere dead letter; not preventing the sale of a single seat, but greatly extending the crime of perjury.

Scarcely was this discussion ended when Sir Francis Burdett determined to bring forward a motion of a more decided kind. On the 15th of June he gave notice, therefore, of the following motion. To extend the suffrage of all persons paying direct taxes. That each county be subdivided according to its taxed male population, and each subdivision send one representative. That votes be taken in each parish by the parish officers, and all elections begun and finished in one and the same day. That the parish officers make the returns to the Sheriffs' Court, at stated periods; and that parliaments be brought back to constitutional duration.

It is obvious that this would have been a sweeping and effectual reform; but the motion was rejected. In the following year Mr. Brand proposed a scheme of reform, much resembling that of Mr. Grey—to abolish the small boroughs, extend the franchise to householders in towns and copyholders in counties. No probability of succeeding in any attempts at reform being visible, the question rested in the house for seven years, when Sir Francis Burdett again introduced it. The great continental war was over; the Bourbons were restored; but the whole people of England were now groaning under the intolerable results of their gigantic efforts to do that for France for which France did not thank them. Distress everywhere prevailed; riots were frequent, from the high price of food, and the stopping of works in the manufacturing districts; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; Mr. Hunt was addressing vast crowds in Spital-Fields and other places to petition for reform of parliament, whence disturbances followed. In March a bill was passed to prevent seditious meetings; and on the 20th, Sir Francis brought on his motion. He declared that he now felt himself in an awkward situation, for that corruption, which used to be denied, was now not merely avowed in parliament, but asserted to be a necessary means of carrying on the government. He reminded the house of the days

when they used to ask where were the petitions of the people, and, pointing to the table, told them they were now there, bearing at least a million of signatures. He hoped that he should not be told that that house represented the people,—it was only the representative of 154 borough proprietors. They were the King, Lords, and Commons of England, had the purse strings of the nation, and did as they pleased. Sir Francis's motion was merely for a committee of inquiry into the state of the representation; but it was negatived by a majority of 188. In June of the following year, 1818, he returned to the subject, and declaring, that having tried all modes of gaining the acquiescence of the house to the proposal of reform, by softening down, and presenting it in the least quantities and the most smooth manner, to no purpose,—he would now frankly lay it before them in the shape in which it had long had his entire approbation. He then proceeded to read a string of six-and-twenty resolutions, including what he considered great constitutional principles, defining the just limits of the power of the crown, and exhibiting the powers and rights of parliament. On these he based six other resolutions to the effect that universal suffrage be granted; that the territory of Great Britain and Ireland be divided into 658 districts, each district to return one representative, and no more; that all elections be begun and ended in one and the same day—the titles thus to vote being made as simple as possible, and to be proved a certain time before the day of election; that for the convenience of electors, each district be subdivided into sub-districts; that vote be by ballot; and that a new election take place every year. It is needless to say that vote by ballot, annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, at that time of day, were enough to put the House of Commons into a perfect stupor of astonishment. Sir Francis found one man to second his motion—that was Lord Cochrane; but it was negatived without a division. Lord Brougham made his first speech in the house of any length on the subject of parliamentary reform, in which he ridiculed the honourable baronet's visionary notions, and displayed that mixture of great powers and whimsical extravagance which has always distinguished him. For instance, when Sir Francis argued that every male adult in a state ought to have a vote, he asked, why stop there? why not every minor, every

boy, every woman, and every child? This may be good ridicule, but is no argument; and is very characteristic of the speaker, who to display his powers of deduction, runs often right a-head from one extreme to the other, in order to prove that there is no medium.

In the following year, 1819, Sir Francis moved the question in the house again. As he did not expect, though with a new parliament, to gain any attention to a specific plan of reform coming up at all to his own ideas, he contented himself with moving that the house take the subject into consideration early in the next session. He introduced his motion with a long and most able and elaborate speech, in which he traced the progress of corruption from parliament into all our institutions, and most monstrously into our courts of Common Law and Equity, instancing a case then pending in the Court of Chancery, in which the defendant being called upon by the plaintiff to produce a statement of accounts, no less than 29,000*l.* was demanded, to produce the office copy of these accounts! In the course of the debate, being called to order by the speaker for styling the members corrupt, Sir Francis very happily corrected himself, admitting that he was wrong—that, in fact, they were *not* corrupt. That they were all most pure and faithful gentlemen—most magnanimously faithful to their constituents—but then, unluckily, those constituents were not the people, and that the people might thereby see how faithfully they would serve *them* if they once made them really *their* servants. Lord John Russell made his first appearance in parliament on the reform question in this debate, to denounce the honourable baronet as a mischievous visionary for introducing ballot, annual parliaments, and such un-whiggish notions. Here ended Sir Francis Burdett's parliamentary motions for reform. Before the year was out, Lord John Russell came forward with *his* ideas of reform; and with one or two exceptions, his motions formed from year to year the regular occasions for the discussion of the question till the passing of the Reform Bill.

His first motion was made December 14th of that year, 1819. It was merely that which had been made many years before and many times, by Pitt and others, for the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs as their corruption should be proved, and the transference

of their franchise to some of the large unrepresented towns, with a separate motion for the disfranchisement of Grampound, which had been proved corrupt before parliament. This borough, in the previous session, had been found so excessively corrupt that the house admitted the principle, that such boroughs should be deprived of the franchise. It was therefore scarcely possible to get rid, even in such a parliament, of this part of his lordship's motion. Moreover, the government had become so thoroughly odious, through its refusal to listen to the complaints of the people, everywhere ground by the deepest distress; by its employment of Oliver and other spies to excite the sufferers to riot, so that they might be cut down by the soldiery, and furnish plausible reasons for fresh enactments of a tyrannous nature; by the Manchester massacre, and the persecutions of the radicals all over the kingdom; amongst them Hone, Hunt, Sir Charles Wolseley, and many others, numbers of whom were immured in different prisons, that it was absolutely necessary to make some show of compliance with rational reform. To disfranchise a borough now and then, taking into the account all the delay, difficulty, and labour that could be thrown in the way even of this process; and when at length such a borough was disfranchised, to transfer the franchise to a county where the landed interest was still one with the government, was therefore deemed to be making a show of reform without giving much of it in reality. Lord Castlereagh, therefore, complimenting Lord John highly on his moderation, and on his great superiority to such wild reformers as Sir Francis, surprised him by avowing the intention of government to concede the disfranchisement of Grampound, but carefully guarding against admitting any general principle, either as to disfranchisement, or to the transfer of the suffrage. These reservations, as guarantees of government, were strenuously maintained, so that every future attempt at disfranchisement was made a matter of individual consideration, and capable of every means of thwarting and procrastination being employed. Lord Castlereagh therefore advised Lord John to withdraw the rest of his motion, and bring in a distinct one for the disfranchisement of Grampound in the next session. Lord John, highly delighted, and imagining that he had achieved a gigantic exploit, withdrew his motion for this session.

The year 1821 became remarkable for the motion of Mr. Lambton, now Earl Durham, for the house to resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration reforms in the representation of the people in parliament. This motion, though debated in a house of only 98 members, became distinguished in the annals of reform, for the animated discussion upon it; but much more for the able and elaborate speech of the noble mover; and for the masterly and comprehensive bill which he had prepared to bring in. It was the first bill which had been framed on the subject; and it was the only document which brought the proposed measures of the whig reforms into one complete scheme. It became afterwards still more distinguished by being made professedly the basis of that which in 1832 became the law of the land. It would be interesting here to analyse at full length that proposed measure, and compare its provisions with those of the Reform Bill, but our space forbids. It may, however, be generally stated that it agreed with that in shortening the period of polling, appointing registration and returning officers, abolishing all representation of towns exclusively, and dividing the whole country, on Burdett's plan, into districts, each returning one or more members. It agreed with it in giving the suffrage to inhabitant householders who should for six months previous to the first day of election have paid any direct public taxes, and should have received no parish pay in that time; but it did not, like the Reform Bill, restrict these householders to a rental of 10*l*. Leaseholders, copyholders, and freeholders to the annual value of forty shillings, over and above the rental, to vote in counties. The duration of parliaments to be triennial.

It will be seen that in frequency of elections, and extent of the suffrage, Mr. Lambton's bill was greatly more liberal than the bill we have got. There was a great body of the old whigs who never could be brought to such a length of reform as triennial parliaments and household suffrage, and to these we owe the clipping of the bill in the cabinet. Lord John Russell himself did not even vote for Mr. Lambton's bill, but in three weeks afterwards introduced another of his own little measures, his modicums of bit-by-bit reform, which, after the masterly and complete plan of Mr. Lambton, was not likely to meet with much favour from thorough reformers.

It was merely the old proposition to remove rotten boroughs, and transfer their franchise. From this time to 1826, Lord John brought forward an annual motion, all more or less bearing reference to this branch of reform. None of these require any particular notice, because they have no distinct features, except that of 1823, in which his lordship fell into the objectionable error of reviving Pitt's scheme of expending a million of money in purchasing up the rotten boroughs.

The grand defect in Lord John Russell's measures was a defect which seems inherent in his mind—smallness. His scheme of policy is to creep rather than to fly,—to seek for reform by atoms, not perceiving that every atom is contended for with the same ferocity as the whole, while there is no boldness about an atomical reform which attaches to it the minds and hearts of energetic men, without which attachment no great work is ever carried on. He declared on that occasion, “He was no friend to sweeping measures; he was an advocate for *partial* reform.” In that sentence he gave the whole of his character. The partial, creeping, insignificant nature of his reforms, laying no hold on the sympathies of the mass, produced no effect; while the bold measure of Lord Durham, cast forth to the fostership of the public, though rejected by the Parliament, went on growing in the public heart, and rose up at the right hour, and by the acclamations of millions whom it had permeated with its silent but *piquant* leaven, was borne triumphantly into the temple, and fixed on the altar of our constitution,—Lord John himself condescending to become a leader of the shouting multitude of its adherents.

We do not mean, however, to say that Lord John Russell's parliamentary labours for reform effected no good. On the contrary. Though possessing no genius for bold and comprehensive projection, he possesses a self-satisfaction, which makes small achievements appear great in his eyes, and render him indefatigable. Thus his motions, though possessing no originality or prominence of feature, served him with occasions of lecturing in the house largely on the subject of reform. And in these annual lectures he contrived to scrape together a great mass of facts,—to collect the scattered arrows of mightier archers, and to shoot them

over again at the common mark. In 1830, Feb. 23rd, he varied his course a little, by a motion to give the representation to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, by anticipation; that is, not to wait till these boroughs were disfranchised, but to give the franchise to these towns, and abolish in lieu three boroughs as soon as they could be caught in the fact of corruption. This, and his exertions to disfranchise the boroughs of Grampound and East Retford, and his motion for a resolution following the debate on Mr. O'Connell's motion on May 28, 1830, bring up Lord John Russell's advocacy of reform to the period of the whig ministry, and the commencement of the final contest for the Reform Bill. In following Lord John's career to this point, however, we have omitted three other motions for parliamentary reform, which we must now glance at.

In 1829, June 2, the Marquis of Blandford made a motion for the disfranchisement of decayed boroughs, which resembled too exactly others gone before to demand further attention; but on February 18, 1830, he introduced a motion of a far more sweeping nature, that is, for leave to bring in a bill to reform parliament through the agency of a committee, to be elected by ballot. This committee after inquiring into, and ascertaining the exact state of all cities, boroughs, and ports of the United Kingdom, to report to the Secretary of State all such boroughs or cities as had fallen to decay, or had ceased to be as populous as places originally intended to send members to parliament. The Secretary of State then to announce these places in the *Gazette*, as having ceased to send members to parliament; and the committee then to point out to the Secretary suitable towns on which to confer the franchise, which, being by him gazetted, became invested with the right to return members by the votes of all inhabitant householders. The Marquis also proposed, that every member of parliament should be paid for their attendance—citizens 2*l.*, knights of the shire, 4*l.* per day. Country leaseholders and copyholders, on Mr. Pitt's plan, to possess a vote. The Marquis proposed also to abolish any property qualification for a seat in parliament; to restore the act of Henry V., requiring that those only should be eligible for a place, who were free of, or inhabitants of that place; that the act of the 6th of Queen Anne, c. 7, allowing placemen to vacate their seats, and be elected again,

should be abolished, and the act of the 13th William III. be restored, forbidding placemen to sit in parliament. The representation of Scotland to be put upon the same footing as that of England; and parliaments to have only a triennial duration. These and some minor provisions constituted the proposed bill, one of the most sweeping measures that ever were recommended to the attention of parliament. It is needless to say that it was negatived; yet what is curious, is to see the names of Brougham, Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, and Lord Howick, in the minority which voted for it—the very men who had not long before denounced such measures as mischievous, and ridiculed them as wild and visionary.

There is but one more motion on this subject to notice, and we have then brought the History of Parliamentary Reform up to the era of its success,—and that is, one made by Mr. O'Connell, May 28, 1830, for Universal Suffrage and the Ballot. It was negatived by a majority of no less than 306, only 13 voting for it!

Thus we have briefly traced the career of Parliamentary Reform for a century, from its commencement to the eve of its triumph. The history of this career, written at full, would fill a massy volume; the speeches delivered in the last successful contest itself, would fill another. We should have been glad to have sketched more minutely the various arguments, and recorded the votes of the various characters engaged on each side of the contest; but that amplitude of relation is beyond the purpose of these pages. Our readers, too, are yet familiar with all the ingenious sophistry which has been expended on this subject; the “working well” of the system; the “purity” of corruption; the “honesty” of the most unprincipled set of political swindlers that ever got the purse-strings of a great nation into their hands; the “happiness” of a people steeped to the lips in poverty and misery; the “glory” of a country wasting the substance of its children in the service of foreign tyrants; and the “blessing” of being overhead in debt. The hardihood of assertion never could have been fully comprehended in idea, had not parliamentary corruption and the slave-trade existed. We have, at least, derived this benefit from them—we have learned that there is no crime, no speculation, no infamy that will not be as stoutly defended as the truth itself; and no treason against the commonwealth, which men

calling themselves gentlemen will not engage in, if it be but once made common, and honoured with the name of VESTED RIGHT. We have seen a VESTED RIGHT assumed by gentlemen and noblemen in the ruin of their country. We have seen in this contest another fact as curious, the strange change of position in the combatants, in the course of years—Lord Melbourne, as Mr. Lamb, while in the Commons resisting reform *in toto*, and to the last; and Sir Francis Burdett, the most manly and undaunted of the enemies of corruption, now in the feebleness of senility, shaking hands with the corruptionists, and dreaming that the *times have changed!* The one great lesson, however, which the History of Reform teaches, is, that the temptation of handling a great kingdom's wealth and honours is too much for human nature, and that nothing but the whole power and vigilance of the whole people can preserve the Constitution from the rifling hands of its delegated guardians.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY MANNING AND MASON, 12, IVY LANE.

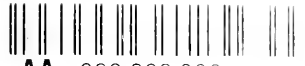




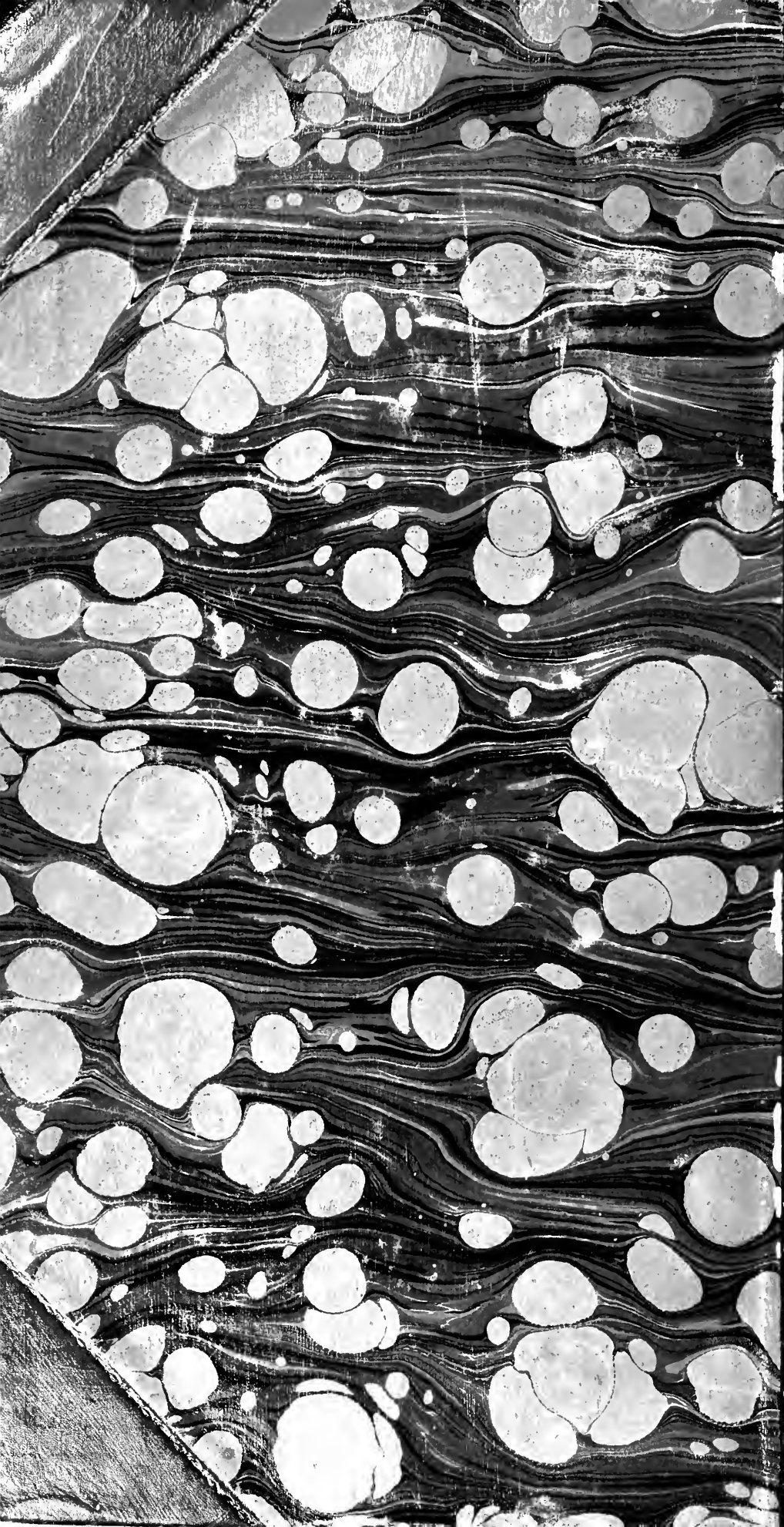
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